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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

SINCE the last volume of this *Journal* appeared Egyptology has suffered a calamitous loss in the death at Oxford of Professor Battiscombe Gunn. A philologist of the first rank, witness his epoch-making *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, he was also a wonderful teacher and guide, philosopher, and friend to many students. For a number of years he served our Society as a member of Committee and as Editor of the *Journal*, while those who knew him well mourn the passing of one of the best and kindest of men. An obituary by Dr. John Barns appears elsewhere in this issue.

In America also Egyptology has undergone a severe blow in the loss of the veteran scholar H. E. Winlock. For many years Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, his chief interest always lay in matters Egyptian. Perhaps his greatest contribution to our science was the long series of most fruitful excavations on behalf of his Museum which he directed at Dēr el-Bahri, whereby he not only enriched the collections at Cairo and New York, but also made considerable additions to our knowledge. He likewise did valuable work on the Oases of Khargah and Dakhlah, and devoted much effort to the disentangling of the obscure history and chronology of the two Intermediate Periods which respectively preceded and followed the Twelfth Dynasty.

We have also, alas, to announce the passing of two well-known French scholars, M. Raymond Weill and M. Pierre Jouguet. M. Weill, who died on 13 July last, could look back on nearly half a century of Egyptological studies, for his first book, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinaï*, appeared in 1904; of his later works his *Décrets royaux* and *Chronologie égyptienne* are probably those by which he will best be remembered. At the time of his death he was editor of the *Revue d'Égyptologie*, now in its seventh volume, and President of the Société française d'Égyptologie. Of M. Jouguet Sir Harold Bell writes: 'The death of Pierre Jouguet on 9 July 1949 removes from the limited circle of papyrologists one of its most prominent and best loved figures. He was not only himself an expert editor (witness, for example, his work on the Magdola and Theadelphia papyri) but the organizer and inspirer of papyrological studies at Lille and Paris. He was indeed the doyen of French papyrologists. But his interests extended far beyond the field of papyrology in the strict sense, to ancient history and archaeology in many aspects and to the literary heritage of the Greece which he loved so ardently and in which, as a former student of the French School at Athens, he never ceased to take a lively interest. Genial, kindly, understanding and tolerant, with a high sense of responsibility and devotion to duty, he was a humanist for whom all who knew him entertained a warm regard, and though he had reached the age of eighty he was still actively at work, and yearly adding to the list of his publications in the sphere of classical scholarship.'

As announced in the last edition of this Foreword, Mr. P. L. Shinnie has carried out at 'Amārah West the clearance of a small area which at the end of the preceding

season had been left incompletely explored, and with the completion of this task our work in the Sudan comes to an end. It is hoped that Mr. Shinnie's preliminary reports on his two seasons' work at this site will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*. On the other hand, the Society's Archaeological Survey of Egypt has resumed the urgent task of recording the monuments visible above ground, under the direction of Professor Blackman, with the assistance of Mr. M. Apted. The site chosen was Meir, where in the past Professor Blackman has done much valuable work for us, and we are gratified to learn that all the tombs on this site which have not already been recorded have now been copied. The publication of the new material will be put in hand as soon as possible, and we look forward to a valuable addition to the four volumes already published under the title *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. In this connexion, however, we are very sorry to have to report that Professor Blackman met with a serious mishap during the voyage home; he had the great misfortune to fall and break a thigh-bone, and consequently he had to go into hospital as soon as he reached England. At the time of writing, however, we understand that he is making good progress, and we most sincerely hope that he is well on the way to complete recovery.

As regards the other publications for which the Society is responsible, the news is good. All the many difficulties which beset the editor of *City of Akhenaten*, vol. III, seem now to have been overcome, and we are approaching the final stages of its production, while the new edition of *Inscriptions of Sinai* is also well advanced. It is probable that soon work will be resumed on the publication of the outstanding material from Sir Robert Mond's excavations at Armant, while on the Graeco-Roman side the forthcoming volumes on Antinopolis and Oxyrhynchus are progressing well.

The Trustees of the British Museum announced in *The Times* of 7 July their intention of creating a separate Department of Egyptian Antiquities. As an interim measure Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, the Honorary Treasurer of this Society, has been appointed Deputy Keeper in charge of Egyptian Antiquities in the present combined Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. We are sure that our members will welcome this development and will feel that it is a fitting recognition of the importance which the Trustees attach to both branches of the Department in our national collection. We also congratulate Mr. Edwards on his appointment and wish him every success.

In connexion with her article in Vol. 35 of the *Journal*, Mrs. Davies has asked that the following note should be included in the present volume: 'I regret that some of the Latin names of the birds at Beni Hasan which I have ascribed to Mr. Moreau contain errors in spelling. Mr. Moreau and Mr. Alexander are of course not responsible for these mistakes. NINA M. DAVIES.'

THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

IN a recently written but not yet published article I was concerned to show that four sandstone blocks in the Vatican Museum emanate from the temple erected at Hermonthis (Armant) by Tuthmosis III in honour of Mont, the principal deity of that important Upper Egyptian town. One of the blocks bears the remains of a scene of well-known type: Tuthmosis III stands facing left, while streams of vivifying *ankh*-signs are poured over his head by a destroyed god on either side of him.¹ My attempt to provide a commentary led to developments which would have lengthened my article to an undesirable extent. The following pages are devoted to what had there to be omitted.

For information concerning Egyptian rites of purification one turns naturally to the important series of papers of which Blackman was the author.² The ramifications of the subject are enormous, since all religious ceremonies of Pharaonic times, whether performed on behalf of a deity, a deceased noble, or the living king, were prefaced by some act of ritual cleansing of which the object was sometimes the officiant and sometimes the intended beneficiary. Happily I am not called upon to deal with this topic in more than a limited way. The royal purification in question can be segregated from the other similar rites in a manner that has not hitherto been properly recognized, and the texts accompanying the scenes where it is depicted yield a self-sufficient explanation of its purpose beyond which it is superfluous to look.

Before proceeding farther, it will be well to cast a comprehensive glance over the material available for the elucidation of this particular rite. I have here confined myself to pre-Ptolemaic representations. From various publications it proved possible to assemble eleven parallels to the Vatican fragment, these ranging from the reign of Hashepsowē to that of Philip Arrhidæus. Though these sufficed to demonstrate my main contentions, it seemed advisable to seek the help of the best authority on such religious scenes. I confess my surprise at having received from Dr. Nelson a list of twenty-four³ still existing, though mostly unpublished, at Thebes alone, these excluding, moreover, the few scenes exhibiting deities other than those in which I was mainly interested, namely Horus, Seth, and Thoth. To Nelson's list, here printed immediately after this paragraph, I have added the nine others previously utilized by me. The same scholar has added to my indebtedness by providing prints from the Chicago negatives of seven scenes at Thebes which for my particular purpose were more illuminating than the rest. This gift was accompanied by permission from Dr. Hughes, the Field-director of the Oriental Institute, to make whatever use of them I liked. To both colleagues I tender my sincerest thanks.

¹ Description in Marucchi, *Il Museo egizio Vaticano*, p. 131, No. 129A. A photograph will appear in my article in vol. 2 of the *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, to be published by the University of Pisa.

² See particularly *Rec. trav.* 39, 44 ff., where a résumé of the previous papers is given. Also to be consulted is his article *Purification (Egyptian)* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 10.

³ On his No. 9 see below, p. 4, n. 1.

Scenes representing the Baptism of Pharaoh

Nos. 1-24, as well as No. 6A, are those enumerated by Nelson, the indications in brackets after the serial number giving the position of the scene as shown in his work entitled *Key Plans showing locations of Theban Temple Decorations*. Nos. 25-32, together with No. 27A, are those added by myself from various publications.

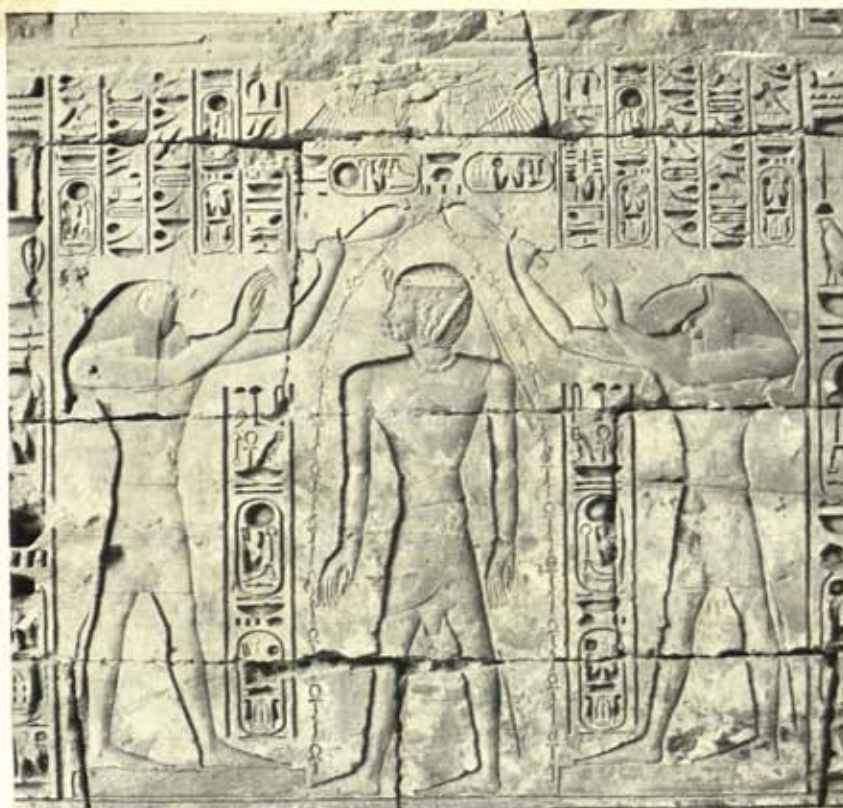
A. *Theban scenes of the King being purified by two gods but containing text mentioning four gods:*

1. (Gur. 169) Sethos I embraced by Amūn, both together being purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Sethos I, Theban necropolis, rear wall of second room on right opening off hypostyle hall. Unpublished.)
2. (KB 152) Ramesses II purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, east wall, 1st reg., south-east corner of hall. Unpublished.)
3. (MH. A 270) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III, west side of second court on portico, 1st register, second scene on right of central axis. Unpublished.)
4. (Kh. 368) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, ambulatory about bark-shrine, east wall, 1st reg. See pl. I, top.)
5. (Kh. 294) Ramesses XI purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, east wall of hypostyle hall, 1st reg. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 238a.)
6. (Kh. 209) Herihor purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, 1st court, west wall, 2nd reg., west end of portico. Unpublished.)
- 6A. Ramesses III. See below under E.

B. *Theban scenes with text mentioning only the two deities depicted as participating:*

7. (KD 458) Ḥashepsowē purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, room XII, north of granite shrine. Jéquier, *Temples Memphites et Thébains*, I, 24, 3.)
8. Ḥashepsowē purified by Horus and Thoth. (On one of the blocks from Ḥashepsowē's red sandstone shrine, to be published by Lacau.)¹
9. (KD 514) Tuthmosis III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, westernmost of the three rooms north of the court of the XIIth Dyn. Unpublished.)
10. (KF 329) Tuthmosis III purified by two gods with small figure standing on *sm*-symbol immediately behind king. Upper half of the figures gone with the wall. (Karnak, Tuthmosis III's Festival Hall, room XXVI, north wall. Unpublished.)
11. (Lux. F 35) Amenophis III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Luxor temp., room XVII, east wall, 1st reg. Unpublished.)
12. (Lux. E 229) Amenophis III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Luxor temp., room XIV, west wall, 1st reg. Unpublished.)
13. (KB 230) Sethos I purified by Horus and Seth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, east face of north tower of second pylon, 3rd reg. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 124.)
14. (KB 293) Sethos I, kneeling on *sm*-symbol, purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, north wall, 2nd reg. Scene unpublished, but mentioned Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 58, bottom.)
15. (KL 6) Ramesses II purified by two human-headed deities, names lost. Third scene in series of (1) king leaving palace, (2) king carried in chair by Souls, (3) king purified.
16. (KG 110) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 8th pylon, north face, 2nd reg. Scene unpublished, but mentioned Champollion, *op. cit.* II, 192 for text.)

¹ Nelson's No. 9, said to be published Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, (III), 64, appears to be a mistake.



Ramesses IV being purified by Horus and Thoth. Temple of Khons
(No. 4 of the list)



Sethos I being purified by Horus and Seth. From a relief (now
destroyed by fire) formerly in the Brussels Museum. (No. 27 of
the list)

THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH



From the Sanctuary of Philip Arrhidæus at Karnak (Lepsius, *Denkm.* IV, 2)
THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH

17. (MH. A 147) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Seth. (*Medinet Habu* (Chicago), IV, pl. 234.)
18. (Kh. 433) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temp. of Khons, room IV, north wall. Unpublished.)
19. (KG 179) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 9th pylon, east tower, north face. Unpublished.)
20. (KG 19) Ramesses XI purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 1st court of south extension, north wall. Unpublished.)
21. (KL 118) Taharqa purified by two deities, heads and above lost with wall. (Karnak, edifice of Taharqa by lake, exterior, north side. Unpublished.)
22. (KI 228) King (Ramesses II or Taharqa?) purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, temple of Ramesses II between great temple and east gate of temple enclosure, screen between two of the columns in north row of portico, south face. Unpublished.)
23. (KD 214) Philip purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, granite shrine, exterior, south face. Leps., *Denkm.* IV, 2, c, see too Porter and Moss, II, 38 (84). Here reproduced in pl. II.)
24. (KI 140) Possibly a fragment of purification scene, Ramesside. (Karnak, small chapel of Tuthmosis III behind great temple, exterior, north end.)

C. *Scenes depicting two of the gods Horus, Seth, or Thoth from sites other than Thebes:*

25. Armant, now in the Vatican Museum. Scene figuring Tuthmosis III as described in the first paragraph of this article.
26. Amada. Amenophis II between Thoth of Khmūn on the left and (Horus) the Beḥdetite on the right. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 65, d = Gauthier, *Temple d'Amada*, pp. 114-16, with pl. 23, A.
27. Heliopolis? Granite block showing in the centre Sethos I between (Seth) the Ombite on the left, and (Horus) the Beḥdetite on the right. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments*, I (1902), pl. 39. Here reproduced, pl. I, bottom.
- 27A. Abydos, Sethos I. See below under E.
28. Abydos. Ramesses II between Thoth on the left and Ḥarsiēse¹ on the right. Capart, *Temple de Sēti I^{er} (Abydos)*, pl. 5.
29. Derr. Ramesses II between Horus on the right and Thoth on the left. Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pl. 43, with pp. 55-6.
30. Wādī es-Sebū'. Ramesses II between Horus the Beḥdetite on his left and Thoth on his right. The nearly illegible legends of this scene perhaps indicate that it ought to have been classed under category A above. Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouā*, pl. 38, A, with p. 149.

D. *Scenes where two gods other than Horus, Seth, or Thoth are shown:*

31. Thebes, Dēr el-Bahri. Ḥashepsowē, small and doubtless intended as an infant, between Amūn on the right and Rē-Ḥarakhti on the left. Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (III), pl. 56, left.
32. Thebes, Luxor temple. Amenophis III, similarly as infant between Mont on the right and Atum on the left. Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, pl. 75, fig. 186.

E. *Scenes undoubtedly belonging to the same category, but showing only one officiating deity:*

- 27A. Abydos, Temple of Sethos I. The king stands facing Horus wearing the side-lock, i.e. as 'Iwn-mwt-f 'Pillar of His Mother', who pours over him encircling streams of *ankh*- and *was*-signs out of three *hes*-vases. Calverley and Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III, pl. 35.
- 6A. (MH 423) Ramesses III embraced by Atum receiving streams of water from a *hes*-vase held by Horus wearing the side-lock. (*Medinet Habu*, rear room 21. Unpublished.)

¹ So according to Porter and Moss, VI, 6, top. Capart's photograph extends to the right no farther than the figure of the king.

In the following discussion the individual scenes will be quoted by their serial number. Most examples comprise four separate hieroglyphic legends, one over each of the two gods and often extending behind him, and one on each side between the god and the king. The former pair are referred to by the initial letter of the name of the god in question, followed by *r* or *l* according as the god in question stands to right or left of the king. The second pair are referred to by a capital K for King, followed by *r* or *l* as before. Thus in the scene reproduced photographically in pl. I, top, the inscription over Horus is designated 4 Hl, while the single column between Thoth and the King is given as 4 Kr.

The first thing to be determined is the context to which this type of representation belongs. In some cases the rite it depicts has been clearly recognized by scholars as an episode in the coronation ceremonies, or at least in a real or imaginative series where the royal prerogatives were bestowed or confirmed—in the latter event I am thinking of the *Sed*-festival. Owing to the piecemeal way in which our examples have been published, or in some instances (e.g. Nos. 8, 25, 27) because the picture stands on an isolated block or (No. 29) is without any informative context, it has not been realized that this generalization, at least so far as our material allows us to judge, is without exception. Blackman has failed to recognize this, and takes several of the examples above quoted (Nos. 13, 29, and even 23, where the evidence to the contrary is particularly clear) as depicting the king as in course of being purified before officiating in a temple.¹ The absence of this scene from the six famous chapels in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos where the daily cult is depicted bears irrefutable witness against this contention, and if somewhat similar representations are found in the funerary cult of either deceased nobles² or the Osirianized king,³ it is always the dead person, not the officiant, who is the recipient of the purifying streams. This does not mean, of course, that the officiant in temples had not likewise to undergo purificatory preparation for his priestly functions; all that is argued here is that the particular scene with which we are concerned in this article belongs to a wholly different set of ceremonies. It is a curious fact, for which no explanation seems forthcoming, that at these royal purifications it is the *hes*-vase (O.K. *hzt*)⁴, not the *nemset*-jar or any other, which is invariably used—this has been verified in Nos. 1–7, 13, 17, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 27A, and 6A, in fact in all properly visible pre-Ptolemaic examples accessible to me either through publications or in photograph. Černý reminds me of the magnificent inlaid models of a *hes*-vase found in the funerary temple of Neferirkarē;⁴ evidently this type of vessel was specially suited to ceremonies in honour of the king himself.

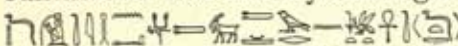
The analogy of our rite to that of Christian baptism is close enough to justify the title given to this article. In both cases a symbolic cleansing by means of water serves as initiation into a properly legitimated religious life. It must not, however, be assumed too hastily that the ceremony was always enacted on the actual day of coronation. Sometimes it may have been performed far earlier; sometimes it may not have been

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 40, 87, n. 91; see too the caption to the Roman example, *ibid.*, pl. 5, No. 2.

² See the examples reproduced in the figures, *Rec. trav.* 39, 53–5.


³ *JNES* 8, 219, fig. 15.

⁴ Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-kei-rec*, 59 ff., with the accompanying figures and plates.

performed at all. It is not mentioned in the Ramesseum dramatic papyrus; the purpose and occasion of the ritual there commemorated are wholly obscure to me. In any case it must never be forgotten that temple sculptures and tomb paintings are not necessarily authentic records of real happenings, but may merely belong to the world of imagination and make-believe. Are we to accept as gospel truth that Pharaoh's chariot was always the first to dash into the midst of his enemies and that they always succumbed at the first impact? But according to theory at least the *hes*-purification had its definite place in a series of ritual acts culminating in the new king's presentation to the supreme god of the realm. Though of very late date, the four episodes reproduced from Lepsius in our pl. II admirably illustrate this conception. First comes the purification by Horus and Thoth (No. 23 of the list above). Next the same two gods¹ place the crown of Upper Egypt upon the king's head. Then Mont of Thebes and Atum of Heliopolis take Philip Arrhidaeus by the hand and, at the invitation of Thoth, lead him into the presence of Amen-Rē. Lastly, that august deity adjusts the crown anew, thus acknowledging the coronation to have been properly accomplished, while behind him, quite unexpectedly, his spouse Amaunē suckles the young monarch, for that very purpose spirited back into babyhood. No. 13 of the list has a closely similar set of scenes, as may be seen from the publication. At Dēr el-Bahri and Luxor a famous sequence of reliefs traces the careers of Ḥashepsowē and Amenophis III respectively from their divine procreation to the actual accession. Here the baptism (Nos. 31, 32) is shown as performed upon the person of an infant, so that there is no pretence of enactment on the very day of coronation. Nevertheless, the accompanying words reveal that that consummation was already envisaged: both gods are accorded the same speech, as follows:  Words spoken: *Be pure together with thy ka, (namely) thy great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, thou living (eternally).*² It is not often that the legends beside the picture of the *hes*-purification allude to its ultimate purpose, but they do so in one Karnak example of the time of Sethos I (13 SI), where we read: *I purify thee with life and dominion,³ that thou mayst grow young (rnpī-k) like thy father Rē and make Sed-festival like Atum, being arisen gloriously as*

¹ For the presence of Thoth here see below, p. 8, n. 1.

² Sethe, on p. 112 of his translation of *Urk.* IV, 242, renders: *Du bist rein mit deinem Ka (in) deiner grossen Würde eines Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten.* Since the preposition *m* is omitted over both gods alike at Dēr el-Bahri and at Luxor there can be no justification for not regarding *sḥ.t* (or *sḥ.k*) *wr* as in apposition to *k.t* (*k.k*). The implication that the king's *ka* is identical with his kingly office is less startling than some Egyptologists may find it. In my articles *PSBA* 37, 257; 38, 83, I pointed out that the word *ka* is sometimes very nearly equivalent to our 'attribute'. Sometimes as subject of verbs like *mri* 'love' or *ḥst* 'praise' it seems synonymous with our 'nature' or 'temperament'. And sometimes, even more strangely, the Egyptian word *ka* appears to stand for something as external and fortuitous as a man's 'rank' or 'fortune'; so in the phrase *whose ka the lord of the Two Lands made* (*Urk.* IV, 486, 3; Quibell, *Tomb of Yuua* (CCG), 2; Lepsius, *Denkm.* Text, III, 275): I believe too that the epithet *nḥb kꜣw* found in Middle Kingdom texts signifies *linking* or *combining attributes*, whether those taken from others (*Pyr.* 512) or those acquired by personal effort (e.g. Cairo 20001; *Bersheh*, II, 13, 14; *Siût*, pl. 16, 5), cf. particularly the parallel expression *nḥb iwt* in *Siût*, I, 266. We may ask whether the English word 'personality' might not best embrace these various applications of the Egyptian word. The main point in which the Egyptian conception of 'personality' would then differ from our own is that it assumes a separation from the owner's physical person, just as was done with the *bai* and sometimes even with the 'name' or the 'shadow', see Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, 99 f.

³ For this rendering of  see below, p. 12.

prince of joy. In the above statements I have naturally had to confine myself to what could be gleaned from the publications and from the photographs sent by Nelson; valuable confirmation, however, is afforded by the following extract from the letter with which that scholar accompanied his gift:

'I think it is certain that the purification rite is *not* part of the daily temple service. It frequently, perhaps generally, occurs as part of a series of acts culminating in the king kneeling before Amūn as he receives regalia, jubilees, life, or the like. The series may include all, or some, of the following scenes: (1) The king leaves the palace, its door shown behind him. (2) The king is purified by the gods. (3) The king is led by two gods into the temple. (4) The king has the crown placed on his head by some god. (5) The king enters the shrine of Amūn and, generally, kneels before the deity, while Thoth may write the royal titulary and *'Iwn-mwt-f* announces the good things done for the king. The king is not the officiant in these rites as he is in the temple service, but instead is the recipient of the acts and of the favours of the gods.'







I pass now to a second question concerning the rite which is of equal, if not greater, importance. What is the reason that Thoth so often appears facing Horus as the second officiating deity? Earlier attempts to answer this question have all unwarrantably assumed that Thoth is here deputizing for Seth. Since in the examples enumerated above Thoth occurs twenty-two times and Seth only thrice it might seem more reasonable to suppose that in the rare cases where Seth is found he is deputizing for Thoth. Two of the three cases (Nos. 13, 27) belong to the reign of Sethos I, whose own name shows in what favour was then held the god of his home in the north-eastern Delta; but no such explanation will account for the third occurrence (No. 17). On the evidence before us we have every ground for believing that Thoth was the normal and original deity figured in this particular scene. Our oldest representations date back no farther than the Eighteenth Dynasty, where all six cases (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 26) depict Thoth. We have absolutely no right to assume that because Horus and Seth are the gods usually seen crowning the king therefore Seth must have been the original god in the purification ceremony; in that case the crowns to be presented were those of Upper and of Lower Egypt, and Seth was the god of the former half of the country, as Horus was of the latter.¹ No such bipartite division of the country is to be assumed in the rite here discussed, and the presence of Thoth there will be seen to have been due to a different, if not entirely unrelated, reason.

The latest writer on this topic is E. Otto,² and although he, like his predecessors, was obsessed with the notion that when Thoth is depicted he is a substitute for Seth, it seems desirable to summarize his argument. Starting from this false premiss and using inadequate material, he conjectured that the preference apparently shown to Thoth in the Eighteenth Dynasty was due to the hatred still felt for Seth as the god of the Hyksos, while the latter's return to acceptability, if not to popularity, in the Nineteenth Dynasty was accounted for by the reason mentioned in my last paragraph. Otto

¹ For these locations see my article *JEA* 30, 23 ff. The reason why in the crowning seen in pl. II Thoth is the partner of Horus is doubtless that by the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus Seth had become so detested that the depiction of him was avoided wherever possible; Thoth had served as partner to Horus in the preceding purification, and accordingly seemed quite a suitable substitute for Seth here.



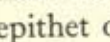
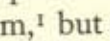
² *Thot als Stellvertreter des Seth*, in *Orientalia*, 7 (1938), 69 ff.



recognized, however, that the assumed suppression of Seth would not provide a motive for the choice of Thoth as an alternative. He argued, accordingly, that between Seth and Thoth there must be some affinity which would make this choice a natural one, and following up that idea he thought himself able to discover half a dozen different points of resemblance or connexion. All of these except the first centre around the association of Seth and Thoth in *Pyr.* §§ 163, *d*; 175, *a* as deities inimical to Osiris. The obvious objection to any hypothesis of the kind is that in our purification rite the partner of Horus, whether Seth or Thoth, is manifestly functioning as a beneficent being. Moreover, Otto's grounds for the shadier side of Thoth's character are speculative and improbable in the extreme—I hesitate the less to express this opinion since I have now gratefully to acknowledge that in the earlier part of his paper he had taught me what will, I hope, henceforth be accepted as the true explanation.



The presence of Thoth in the scenes of the rite is, in fact, adequately explained by that god's status as one of the deities of the cardinal points. Having glimpsed this explanation, Otto should have halted there and have expanded his theme; to look farther afield was, as the French say, *chercher midi à quatorze heures*. Like Kees¹ before him, Otto quotes a formula of the Pyramid Texts (Spell 35, § 27, cf. too Spell 36, §§ 28–9) which names all four gods. This is a formula accompanying a rite of incense-burning, and its beginning reads  *Thy cens-ing is the cens-ing of Horus, thy cens-ing is the cens-ing of Seth, thy cens-ing is the cens-ing of Thoth, thy cens-ing is the cens-ing of Dwen-anwey (?)*. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the same form of words, slightly varied, is found in a rite of purification² performed before the statue of the deceased:  *Thy purification is the purification of Horus, thy purification is the purification of Seth, thy purification is the purification of Thoth, thy purification is the purification of Dwen-anwey*. That the four gods here mentioned were the gods of the cardinal points was probable enough merely from their number, but as Otto has seen, following Kees and Sethe, Spell 217 of the Pyramid Texts (§§ 152–60) places the matter beyond all doubt. Here the arrival of the dead king before Rē-Atum is to be announced to the gods of Upper Egypt by Seth and Nephthys, while Osiris and Isis are charged to make a similar announcement to the gods of Lower Egypt; Thoth is likewise dispatched to the West, and the falcon-god  to the East. Evidently each of the four quarters of the world was intended to receive the news from its own special deity or deities. Osiris is substituted for Horus in order to produce a conjugal pair parallel to Seth and Nephthys. As for , he is clearly identical with  in the above-mentioned Spells 35 and 36, see too *Pyr.* §§ 17. 1613. How exactly his name is to be read in its various writings is uncertain. The variant  without the standard in § 159 suggests that here he was conceived of as a Horus, but in the other places in *Pyr.* the standard serves to differentiate him from Horus, the god of Lower Egypt. It is perfectly certain that he is none other than the principal god of the XVIIIth nome of Upper Egypt on the east bank, since the later form in the above-quoted formula of

¹ *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, 1, 58; also more positively *ZAS* 58, 94.

² Not quite the same rite, I think, as that discussed in this article, since a different type of jar is employed. At all events I do not feel called upon to follow up the underlying purificatory idea into the ceremonial of the Opening of the Mouth. For references, see Otto, loc. cit., 73, n. 2.

purification is  as in the later nome-lists, while at least one Old Kingdom nome-list gives the form , which is the form in most Pyramid Text passages, as we have seen. It is possible that from the very start the name was read as *Dwen-ꜥmwi* 'Spreader of Wings', since that epithet occurs, not only spelt out  on an Asyūt coffin of the Middle Kingdom,¹ but also written  in *Pyr.* § 1098 (N). But we are not seriously concerned with the reading here; another possibility for the Old Kingdom is perhaps 'Anti';² Kees had successfully demolished Sepa favoured by the older Egyptologists.³ All that for our particular purpose we required to establish is that he was the eponymous god of the XVIIIth Upper Egyptian nome, and by virtue of that a fitting representative of the East. Consequently Thoth must be the god of the West. Sethe, in his commentary on Spell 217, tried to explain this by reference to Thoth's Delta cults.⁴ Otto, much more sensibly, thought it due to his position as the principal deity of Khmūn (Hermopolis magna, El-Ashmūnēn).⁵ We shall see that the scenes of our rite confirm the latter hypothesis.

What convinced me from the start that Horus and Thoth, or much more rarely Horus and Seth, were envisaged in our rite as two of the four gods of the cardinal points was, firstly, the mention of all four in the legends of a published scene of the reign of Ramesses XI. Here, over Horus we read (5 Hr): *Words spoken by the Beḥdetite: Thy purification is the purification of Horus, thy purification is the purification of Seth, thy purification* [sic]; opposite, over Thoth we find (5 Tl): *Words spoken by the lord of Khmūn: thy purification is the purification of Thoth, thy purification is the purification of*  *Dwen-ꜥmwy*.⁶ These inscriptions will be recognized as the exact counterpart of the later purification formula discussed by Otto—the formula which imitates that of the censuring in the Pyramid Texts, where the four gods have been demonstrated to be those of the cardinal points. Nelson strengthened my surmise by adding six more examples where the four gods are named (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 6A); the earliest of these (No. 1) dates from the reign of Sethos I; a better preserved one of the time of Ramesses IV (No. 4) is here reproduced, pl. I, top.⁷ I had also noticed that in certain cases (Nos. 13, 23, 26, 31) where only two gods are named the legends next the king show the words *Thy purification is my purification* clearly reminiscent of the same formula. Accompanying that shortened version (Nos. 26, 31, cf. too Nos. 3, 29) we sometimes find  *Words to be recited four times*. As long ago as 1887 Maspero⁸ conjectured that this instruction

¹ In the publication Chassinat-Palanque, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, 127, the determinatives look somewhat like the claw , but De Buck confirms that they are certainly wings, and show the same form as in the variant with the bird  on another coffin from the same site (op. cit., 187). Also *Wb.* v, 432 interprets *ꜥmwy* as 'wings', but does not give any word *ꜥn* as 'wing' in *Wb.* i, 187-90.

² *Onomastica*, II, under No. 384B of *On. Am.*

³ *ZAS* 58, 92.

⁴ *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramidentexten*, I, pp. 55, 60.

⁵ Op. cit. 71. On the following page, however, he appears to lose sight of this possibility.

⁶ The original *ꜥmwy* (see above) has been changed into *ꜥwy* 'arms' doubtless because the former word had become obsolete and its meaning forgotten. The same change is found in an Edfu nome-list, Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1385, under the XVIIIth nome.

⁷ Here the complete formula with all four gods stands, not only over the head of Horus the [Beḥdet]ite, but also over the head of Thoth 'who is in Khmūn'.

⁸ In his article *Le rituel du sacrifice funéraire*, originally printed in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 15, but later repeated *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, 1, see particularly pp. 293-4. See too Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten*, 31-3.

to the officiant—for such it is—indicates a rite to be performed consecutively at each of the four cardinal points. The words to be spoken on these occasions are indubitably those with which we first became acquainted in *Pyr.* § 27, varied slightly whenever necessary and perhaps abbreviated at times. The fourfold performance and recitation was of widespread usage, by no means confined to the rite alone studied in this article.

A last clue to the virtual presence in our rite of all four gods of the cardinal points is to be found in the epithets accorded to three of them. Horus is often described as the Behdetite (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 23, 26, 27) and it was by reason of his connexion with the town of Behdet in the far north that he obtained his right to be the official representative of that region.¹ In all three cases where Seth replaces Thoth (see above, p. 8) he is designated *Nbty* 'the Ombite' in reference to his home at Ombos near the modern Upper Egyptian town of Kūs. Since these appellations belong to a genuine tradition of very ancient date I see no justification for refusing equal credence to the epithets *lord of Khmūn* (Nos. 5, 6, 26) or *who is in Khmūn* (No. 4) accorded to Thoth, even if in regarding that god as owing his right to represent the West to his connexion with Hermopolis Magna we have to reject Sethe's verdict that Spell 217 of the Pyramid Texts was a product of Lower Egypt in his postulated Heliopolitan period.²

To sum up the results of the foregoing argument, we find that in reality the *hes*-purification was quadrilateral, not bilateral. Why then were not all four gods depicted? I believe it was because such a mode of depiction was not artistically satisfactory. We have, indeed, pictures of the closely analogous funerary purification performed by four priests, see the annexed fig. 1.³ But this design is exceedingly clumsy, and it is difficult to imagine that such important deities as Horus, Thoth, and Seth would have submitted to depiction in such miniature form. But if, then, the scenes we have been studying are to be considered as abbreviations and if all four gods were always implicitly present, why was Thoth given the preference over Seth as the partner of Horus? I believe it was because to an Egyptian spectator the combination of Horus and Seth would have suggested restriction to a north-south application, as in the reliefs of the crowning. In the combination of Horus and Thoth there would have been found a broad hint of the virtual presence of the two missing members of the four. We thus see that the notion that Thoth here replaces Seth is an illusion.



FIG. 1

Lastly, the meaning of the rite as a whole. When actually performed, what was in fact poured over the king's head was water, and this we find depicted in a few rare

¹ See my article quoted above, p. 8, n. 1.

² See the work cited above, p. 10, n. 4.

³ From the Theban tomb of Sennūfe (No. 96B); reproduced from *Rec. trav.* 22, 91; two other examples of the same design, Davies, *The Tomb of Kenamūn*, pl. 63; id., *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. 15. The priests here, of course, represented the four gods of our royal rite, and in the scene here shown four separate priests were engaged in the ceremony, two ordinary lector-priests, the chief lector, and the *setem*-priest.

instances (Nos. 1, 6A, 23, 32). Usually, however, it was preferred to exhibit the symbols for the benefits which the purifying streams were supposed to confer; in some cases we find only the *ankh* 𓆎 , i.e. the symbol for 'life' (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 13, 26), but rather more often this alternates with another symbol 𓆏 (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 17, 27, 28, 29), the meaning of which is more disputed.¹ Since this is regularly seen in the hands of divinities both male and female,² it seems probable that it signifies 'divine power', and I propose the translation 'dominion' in the sense in which that word is employed in the Authorized Version of our Bible. Contexts are lacking in which the signification of this symbol, whether read as *wis* or as *dcm*, is plain, but since it is shown erect between heaven and earth on each side of many royal monuments,³ once again probably to be interpreted quadrilaterally, I believe it may there be construed as the specific power of each of the gods of the cardinal points. It would appear, accordingly, that the rite was intended to transfer to the Pharaoh a goodly portion of the power of the divinities who presided over the four quarters of the globe. Perhaps their gift to the Pharaoh was not entirely unreciprocated, since after the words *Thy purification is the purification of X* we often find the expression $\text{𓆏} \text{ ts phr}$, lit. *utterance turned round*, the equivalent of our *and vice versa* (e.g. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4). Transactions in remote antiquity between god and king were habitually conducted on a business basis.

¹ The most complete discussion is that in Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, 176 ff., where the view taken by the author approximates to that here adopted. The sense given in *Wb.* 1, 260, namely *Wohlergehen, Glück* (in both cases with a note of interrogation) seems extremely unlikely, and would render superfluous *wt-ib* sometimes found in the enumeration of kingly attributes.

² The only case known to me where this type of sceptre is seen in the hands of an ordinary human being is in a scene of measuring the crops, where an old man carries it while swearing to the boundaries of a corn-field, *JEA* 20, pl. 10, fig. 2.

³ Perhaps the oldest example is on the comb figured *JEA* 30, pl. 6, fig. 4. Others are Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-rer*, 1, 45; Anthes, *Hatnub*, pls. 4, 5. Since this design regularly forms a framework to the name or names of the king, to which in addition the vulture-goddess is seen offering the symbols 𓆎 and 𓆏 , the whole may be taken to symbolize her gift to the king of all power even from the four corners of the world.





INSCRIPTION OF HÛMEN AT ASWÂN

AN INSCRIPTION AT ASWĀN REFERRING TO SIX OBELISKS

By L. HABACHI

ALTHOUGH the quarries of Aswān were the sole source of the larger obelisks erected in Egypt,¹ the district contains but few traces either of obelisks or of texts relating to them. The great unfinished obelisk still in the quarry, of uncertain date, is, of course, well known,² but apart from this we have but portions of a few others of quite small size; these were all found on Elephantine Island and originally stood in the temple of Khnum, who, by virtue of his assimilation with the sun-god as Khnum-Rē,³ could display these symbols of the solar religion. Of these smaller obelisks at Elephantine, a fragment in red granite with the name of Tuthmosis I is all that remains of a pair erected by that king in honour of Khnum. Another small granite obelisk (Cairo 17015) was found some twenty-eight years ago serving as a threshold of one of the Nubian houses at Elephantine; it was dedicated to Khnum by Amenophis II and formed one of a pair of which the other was long ago removed to Alnwick Castle. A third pair, also in granite, seems to have been set up by Tuthmosis IV, but of these only the lower part of a single one was discovered here (Cairo $\frac{27}{25} \frac{3}{18}$).⁴ No other obelisks have been found in the Aswān district, apart from a few quite small ones in sandstone (Cairo 17034 A.B.; 17035, 6), which were found beside the cemetery of rams at Elephantine and which are apparently of Graeco-Roman date.⁵

Inscriptions referring to obelisks are even fewer. Of all the inscriptions of the tombs and temples in Aswān and of more than eight hundred graffiti in this region, there are but four which refer to obelisks. Two of these, which occur on the road from Aswān to Philae, are dated in year 9 of Sethos I;⁶ they mention that the king ordered that large obelisks be made, but give no clue either as to how many were required or as to their ultimate destination. In point of fact the only large granite obelisk known to have been erected by that king was originally set up at Heliopolis.⁷ The third inscription, on the island

¹ The sole material used for tall obelisks was granite, obtainable only from Aswān. Lesser obelisks in basalt were quarried mostly in the Wādī Hammāmāt, while those in quartzite usually came from Gebel el-Aḥmar and those in sandstone were usually brought from Gebel es-Silsilah. There are, however, sandstone quarries also at Aswān, where there was recently found a small unfinished obelisk of Sethos I, which I hope to publish shortly.

² See Englebach, *The Aswan Obelisk* and also his *Problem of the Obelisks*, 25 ff., where it is thought possibly to belong to the reigns of Ḥatshepsut or of Tuthmosis III.

³ Ch. Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, 10 f.

⁴ For the references to these obelisks, see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 244.

⁵ Kuentz, *Obélisques*, 66-8.

⁶ De Morgan and others, *Cat. des Mon.* 1, 7; for the other text see Leps., *Denkm.* III, 141 i and *Text*, IV, 118-19 [4] with *a*.

⁷ Now in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome; see Parker, *The Twelve Egyptian Obelisks in Rome*, 15-18; pl. 5, and Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, §§ 544 ff.

of Sehêl, speaks of 'the king's true and well-beloved relative, the overseer of the work on the two great obelisks, the chief prophet of Khnum, Satis and Anukis, Amenhotpe',¹ but gives no indication of date and does not mention for which temple the obelisks were intended. The fourth inscription, on the contrary, is more explicit. Cut in a high rock on the east bank of the Nile opposite the ruins of Elephantine, it depicts the famous architect Sennemût before Queen Hatshepsut and speaks of 'the cutting of the two great obelisks' of which the queen was so proud.²

From the foregoing it will be seen how vague and scanty are the references to obelisks in the Aswân district. It therefore came as a great surprise to my colleague H. Riad and myself, when collating some of the inscriptions near to Elephantine Island, when we came upon a text which made mention of the work on six obelisks. The owner of the inscription is a person hitherto unknown called Hûmen, and the king who ordered the obelisks is not named, but, as we shall see below, it is possible to make a plausible conjecture as to his identity. This inscription is cut on the western face of a small rocky island which is less than fifty metres east of the stairway leading to the Aswân Museum in Elephantine. This island, which the local Nubians call Hassawanarti—i.e. the island of Hassawa, perhaps the name of a person—is almost submerged during the inundation, which is probably why its inscriptions have not previously been observed. The surface on which the text is engraved is not polished, but is fairly smooth. To the right of the inscription is the figure of a man facing left, clad in a wig and a long garment with short sleeves; he stands with hands raised in the attitude of adoration before a well-cut inscription of fourteen lines³ (see pl. III). Both inscription and figure are cut *en creux*, but in order to display more clearly the sleeves and also the left arm where it crosses the body, these are carved in relief of varying height according to the detail to be shown. The face seems to have been intentionally mutilated, probably by the agents of Akhenaten, who also attempted to efface the name of Amûn where it occurred. Traces of a figure facing right and having exactly the same size as that of Hûmen can be noticed close by, but this was effaced, perhaps because the surface of the rock in front may not have had enough room for the inscription. Traces of other earlier inscriptions can be also noticed on both sides; parts of these were effaced to permit of the engraving of the inscription of Hûmen.



The transliteration of the inscription (for which see pl. III) is as follows:

(1) *Rdît iꜣw n Hnmw m hꜣw*(2)*·f n sꜣbd 3 prtꜣ crky sn* (3) *tꜣ n nbt Stt in imy-r kꜣt n 'Imn*^b (4) *Hwmm. Dd·f: iꜣw hrp·n·i* (5) *thn 6 n hm·f chꜣ·n rdî·n n·i hm·f fꜣy*(6)*t 2 m nbw hr hꜣ hꜣ·kw(i)* (7) *m pr n iꜣw(r) m rmtꜣ tp 20* (8) *shwtꜣ stꜣtꜣ 50. Dd·f: ink hrp rs-tp* (9) *iꜣwtꜣ kꜣd·fꜣ tm bg* (10) *hr ddt m hr·f rdî·n nsꜣw r ist ikrt* (11) *r hrp n·f kꜣt cꜣt ib·f mh iꜣw·f* (12) *ir·n·f tꜣ pn grꜣw m rhꜣw* (13) *m hrpꜣw nn phꜣ sw m gr*(14)*gw hr·f imy-r kꜣdwꜣ n 'Imn Hwmm.*


¹ De Morgan and others, op. cit. 94, No. 140.


² Leps., *Denkm.* III, 25 bis, and *Text*, IV, 116; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 396–7 (125); De Morgan, op. cit. 41, No. 181 bis (De Mahattah à Assouan). One of these obelisks still stands in its original position between the Hypostyle Hall and the main sanctuary at Karnak, while the upper part of the other was transferred to the vicinity of the Sacred Lake.

³ The height of the figure is 71 cm.; the inscription is 119 cm. high by 61 cm. wide.





^a  is represented by a solid disc, which is also used for .

^b The name of Amūn here as in l. 14 is quite easily legible, despite the attempt to efface it.

^c  at the beginning of the line stands in the right-hand margin, as if it were a later addition.

^d The sign  very closely resembles the earlier N.K. hieratic forms, see Möller, *Hier. Pal.* II, No. 519.

^e The determinative of *kd* is the plain eye (Gardiner, Sign-list, D 4) and not the painted eye (D 5. 6).


^f The sign here employed is unusual; it represents a man standing in a slightly bowing posture and extending his hands with something like a piece of mud held between them. It should be taken, as Sir Alan Gardiner suggested to me, as an abbreviation for the sign showing a man building a wall (Gardiner, Sign-list A 35) and the word thus means 'builders'. The title 'overseer of builders' appears in  (De Morgan, *Cat. des Mon.* I, Sehēl No. 35 [86]),  (*Wb.* v, 74, 10), and more fully in   (G. Daressy, *Recueil des cones*, no. 70).

Translation

Giving praise to Khnum at his appearing on the third month of Winter, last day,^a and doing obeisance to the Lady of Sehēl,^b by the overseer of works of Amūn Hūmen. He said: I controlled (the work on) six obelisks for His Majesty, and His Majesty gave me two weights (?)^c of gold and silver. I was favoured in the House of Rewarding^d with 20 men and 50 arouras of land. He said: I was a vigilant controller^e who did not sleep and who was not slack concerning what was laid in his charge;^f whom the king appointed to an important office in order to control for him great works, his heart (i.e. of the king) being confident as he (i.e. Hūmen) returned when he had achieved (his task),^g for (though) this land was provided with experts and controllers, there was none who could equal him in respect of his ability,^h namely the overseer of builders of Amūn Hūmen.

^a The occurrence of a festival of Khnum on this date has not been recorded hitherto. Khnum and his companion deities seem, however, to have held many festivals in the course of the year, for, according to a block found at Elephantine which belongs to the reign of Tuthmosis III,¹ there were during the Inundation season alone three feasts of Khnum, three of Anukis, and one of Satis.

^b The epithet 'Lady of Sehēl' undoubtedly refers to Anukis, whose name is here determined by the figure of the goddess with her distinctive head-dress, a figure which alone can stand for her name, e.g. in Sehēl inscriptions Nos. 75, 77, 140, and 197.² This epithet can stand by itself for the goddess, e.g. Sehēl No. 36.³

^c *Fꜣytw* is used as a word for 'reward', e.g. *Bull. Inst. fr.* 30, 806; 34, 139, no. 10, 140 but there has the determinatives . Here it is followed by two tall strokes, presumably the numeral 2 (for this cf. the numeral in Sehēl inscriptions Nos. 13 and 19),⁴ so that *fꜣyt* here must refer to some concrete object. The verb *fꜣt* can mean 'weigh' (*Wb.* I, 573 ff.), hence our rendering 'weights (?)'. Possibly Hūmen was given two ingots of a standard weight, one of gold and one in silver.

¹ De Morgan, op. cit. 122 (n).

² Ibid. 89, 94, 99.


³ Ibid. 86.



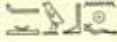
⁴ Ibid. 85.

Ḥu¹ may refer to (a) the god of that name; (b) a king Amenophis, Ḥu being derived from Huy which is the abbreviation of *Imnhtp*;² or (c) *Iḥ* the moon-god, Ḥu being, as Sir Alan Gardiner has suggested to me, a possible abbreviation for this also.³

Ḥumen appears to have lived during Dyn. XVIII, if we can judge from his name and still more from the descriptive epithets applied to him (see notes e and f above), while his costume of a long dress with short sleeves is characteristic of this period; it is intermediate between the simpler garments of the Middle Kingdom and the elaborate costumes of the Ramesside period.⁴ A Middle Kingdom date for Ḥumen is excluded also by the fact that it was not until the Empire that we find Amūn powerful enough to have a controller of works of his own,⁵ while it is not until Dyn. XVIII that we find the king giving such costly rewards to deserving subjects, at first to soldiers only, but later also to civil or religious officials.⁶ Ḥumen himself was granted 2 ingots (?) of gold and silver, 20 slaves and 50 arouras of land, equal to about 34 acres. Such a lavish reward would be given only for the accomplishment of a difficult task such as the successful quarrying of six obelisks undoubtedly was; that these obelisks were of considerable size may be judged from the scale of the award. The name of the king who ordered them is not mentioned, but he must have been one of the most important monarchs of Dyn. XVIII to have ordered obelisks in such quantity; they were presumably destined for the temples of Amūn at Thebes, since Ḥumen was controller of the works of Amūn. It seems most probable that the monarch in question was Tuthmosis III, as he was the king who erected more obelisks than anyone else; we know of one huge obelisk and three sets of smaller ones which he set up at Karnak. On the other hand, these were not all erected at one and the same time, as Ḥumen's inscription suggests, and, moreover, we know of the names of the architects charged with their erection.⁷ Amenophis III also set up many obelisks in Thebes, none of which is now standing. Of these the fragments of some have survived, such as those belonging to the temple of Mont at Karnak,⁸ while we know of others only from inscriptions. Thus on the southern tower of

¹ For names formed with Ḥu see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 234, 12-17.

² See *ZÄS* 44, 89, 90; *Ann. Serv.* 35, 122, n. 5. If it were possible for his name to be written simply as  in the reign of Akhenaten so as to avoid the reference to Amūn implicit in 'Huy', we might perhaps identify him with the chief of works Men depicted with his son Bak in the famous graffito opposite the Cataract Hotel at Aswân (cf. de Morgan, op. cit. 40, No. 174). Although, as we shall see below, Ḥumen most probably lived under Akhenaten's father Amenophis III, it must be admitted that this identification is not without its difficulties.

³ Cf.  =  Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 4. This alternative is supported by the name  Ranke, op. cit. 234, 12.

⁴ For the style of dress current during the M.K. cf. Lahge-Schäfer, *CCG*, iv, pls. 70-83. In Aswân there are hundreds of figures accompanying rock inscriptions, the majority of which are clad in short kilts and none have garments with sleeves, cf. e.g. de Morgan, op. cit., Nos. 144, 165, 167 (pp. 22, 24), on the road from Philae to Aswân. In Dyn. XVIII we find garments similar to that worn by Ḥumen, e.g. in Sehêl Nos. 84, 87, *ibid.*, p. 90, while the more elaborate Ramesside costumes occur in Sehêl Nos. 3, 6, 64, 93 (*ibid.*, pp. 84, 88, 91).

⁵ For the officials of the domain of Amūn see Lefebvre, *Hist. des gr. prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, 41-54. Almost all these officials lived in the New Kingdom.

⁶ Ḥmose son of Ibana was rewarded for his military exploits four times with gold and also with a grant of slaves. For similar instances, sometimes with non-military recipients, see Louvre C 213; the stela of Manshiet es-Sadr (Cairo Mus. 34504) see Hamada, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 225, No. 4; also the stela of Mose in Hildesheim (No. 374), cf. Roeder, *Ramses II als Gott*, in *ZÄS* 61, 65-6.

⁷ Hayes, *Ann. Serv.* 33, 13 f.

⁸ Varille, *Karnak*, 1, 5, 15.

Pylon III at the back of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak there is a reference to obelisks which doubtless originally stood before this pylon, but were presumably removed when the Hypostyle Hall was built. Again, on the great stela of this king now lying in three pieces in the fields behind the Colossi of Memnon there is a mention of obelisks.¹ Though no such monuments now exist on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, it is not improbable that Amenophis III erected obelisks before his temple, and it may be that it is to such obelisks that Hūmen's inscription refers; a king ordering obelisks for his own temple and the other temples would probably order the full number at one time.

One question remains: where were these obelisks quarried? There is no direct evidence on this point, but the mention in our inscription of the Lady of Sehēl may be significant, for we would rather have expected the name of Satis, Lady of Elephantine. Is it possible that these obelisks were quarried in Sehēl? It is not improbable, for there is evidence of extensive quarrying in the hill called Hussein Tagog in the southwest of the island. Furthermore, it is worthy of remark that quarrymen, sculptors, superintendents of sculptors, overseers of builders, and controllers of works have left far more inscriptions at Sehēl than anywhere else in the region of Aswān²; a fact which suggests that they worked in this island and that Hūmen quarried his obelisks there.

¹ See Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, §§ 903, 908.

² E.g. De Morgan, *op. cit.*, No. 1 [84], Nos. 33, 35 [86], No. 76 [89], No. 97 [91], Nos. 108, 113, 117 [92], Nos. 131, 136, 140, 141, 143 [94], Nos. 152, 157 [96], Nos. 173, 175 [97], No. 193 [99], No. 203 [100].

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SENNEMŪT

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

INCLUDED among the antiquities which in May 1931 the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art brought back with it to New York were some 1,230 fragments of the once magnificent quartzite sarcophagus of Ḥatshepsut's well-known official, the great Steward of Amūn, Sennemūt. The majority of the fragments, including all of the larger pieces, were found by the expedition during the winter of 1930-1 in the subterranean burial passage at the rear of Sennemūt's huge, rock-cut tomb chapel (No. 71) on the 'Ilwet esh Shēkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah at Thebes.¹ To these were added 42 small fragments discovered many years earlier by Weigall² and Davies³ in the forward portions of the tomb and numerous pieces found scattered far and wide over the slopes of the hill. Among the latter were two chips of quartzite picked up by Winlock in the tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty vizier, Dagi (No. 103), more than a hundred yards to the north of Tomb 71. The frequent occurrence in this part of the necropolis of quartzite mauls and grinding-stones evidently made of portions of the sarcophagus and its lid helps to explain why, in spite of the complete and careful excavation of Tomb 71 and its vicinity, less than half of the monument has been recovered in a condition permitting of restoration (pl. IV).⁴ Fortunately, the fragments which do exist are sufficiently extensive and well distributed to establish beyond a doubt the form, dimensions, and decoration of the sarcophagus, the form and dimensions of the lid, and the identity of almost every figure and text with which the monument was adorned (see pls. V-VIII).

The task of restoration and text identification has been greatly facilitated by the fact that Sennemūt's sarcophagus was of the contemporary royal type studied in some detail by me in *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*.⁵ It is particularly similar to the second of the two sarcophagi prepared for Ḥatshepsut as king of Egypt ('D' of my list), differing from the royal monument chiefly in the facts that it is rounded at *both* ends (i.e. is oval, not cartouche-shaped, in plan); is 12 cm. shorter than Sarcophagus D;⁶ has a low, flat lid, vaulted on the underside like that of Sarcophagus B (Tuthmosis II?); and does not, of course, use the royal cartouche anywhere in its decorative scheme.

¹ Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, March 1932, sect. II, 21 f.

² Six pieces of the sarcophagus, discovered apparently between the years 1905-8 (see *Ann. Serv.*, 9, 130), were stored by Weigall in the tomb of Rekhmirē (No. 100) where they were later found by Davies.

³ Thirty-six pieces were found by Davies in the forecourt of Tomb 71 during the excavations which he conducted there on behalf of Sir Robert Mond.

⁴ In addition to the portions of the sarcophagus shown in the photographs there are three large fragments of the head-end, three good-sized pieces of the right side, a substantial section of the floor (joining the left side), thirty pieces of the lid, and several hundred small chips of both the sarcophagus and the lid.

⁵ *Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology*: Quarto Series, xix. Princeton, 1935.

⁶ Many of the other dimensions of Sennemūt's sarcophagus (width, thickness of walls, and bottom, etc.) coincide exactly with those of Sarcophagus D.

That it may be the more easily studied in conjunction with the series of monuments to which it belongs it seems desirable to list herewith the salient data on this sarcophagus (designated by the letter 'S') in the same form and arrangement used in the catalogue of *Royal Sarcophagi*:¹

S

(Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession No. 31.3.95)

Bibliography:

Winlock, *Bull. MMA*, February, 1928, sect. II, 56; March, 1932, sect. II, 21-2, fig. 15.

Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 47-8, 61, 131, 142.

Owner:

The Steward of Amūn, Sennemūt.

Tomb:

Tomb No. 71 on the 'Ilwet esh Shēkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah at Thebes.

Material:

Brown quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: Oblong box with rounded head- and foot-ends, i.e. oval in plan. The curve of the head and foot is complex, being rather flat in the middle and angled at the sides. All corners on the interior are rounded.

Lid: Low, hollowed cover; same plan as sarcophagus. Upper surface flat; under surface concave.

Sides of lid on exterior vertical. Under side rabbeted around outer edge.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	233 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	88 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	89 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	82.3 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	6.7 cm.
Total height of lid	10.7 cm.
Minimum thickness of lid	9 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	8 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	11 cm.

Pry-bar sockets:

No traces on existing fragments.

*Decoration:**Figures (relief en creux):*

Lid, upper surface: [Nūt, standing, arms outspread] (?).

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 44 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 44 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis Khenty-seḥ-netēr, and Kebḥsnēwef, standing. Height 45 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Imseti, Anubis Imy-Wet, and Duamūtef, standing. Height 45 cm.

Lid, under surface: [Nūt, standing, arms outspread] (?).

Sarcophagus, interior, floor: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height ca. 100 cm. (The arms of the goddess extend up the sides of the box and cut into Text 60. See pl. V, longitudinal section).

¹ Appendix I, pp. 155 ff.



1. Left side and Foot-end



2. Right side, central portion, exterior, with parts of Text 30a and adjoining texts



3. The same, interior, with part of Text 60 (Columns 103-118)

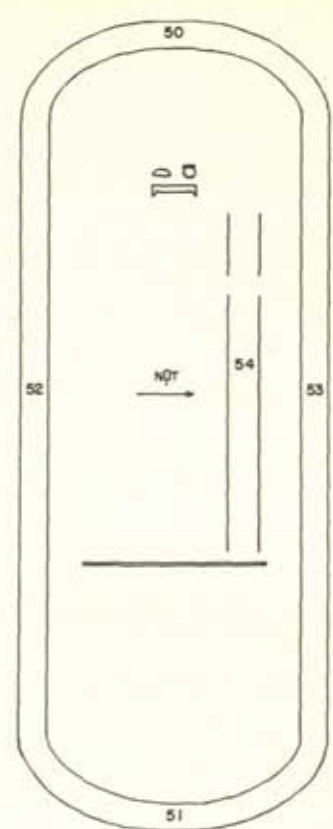
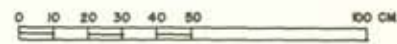
THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SENNEMÛT



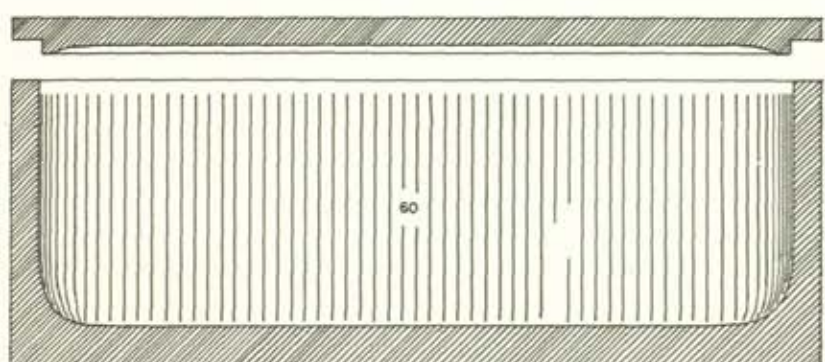
SARCOPHAGUS
OF
SENNEMUT
(RESTORED)



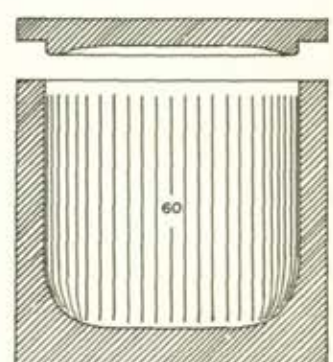
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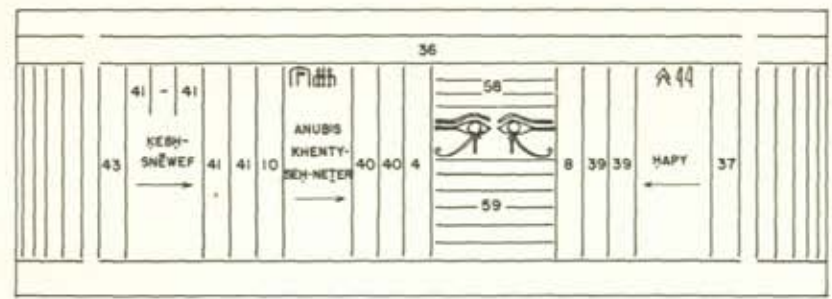
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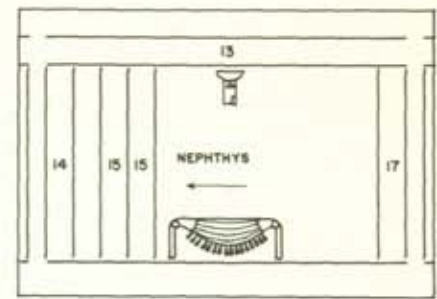
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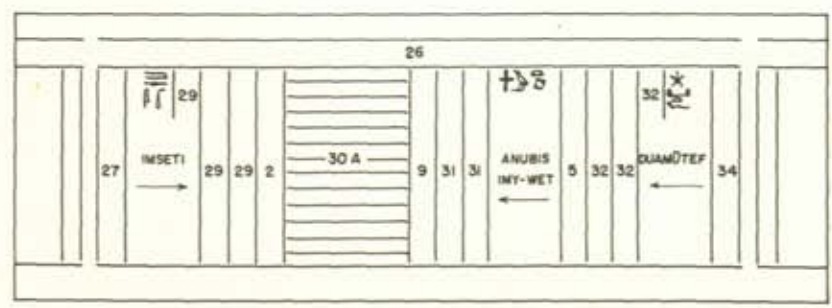
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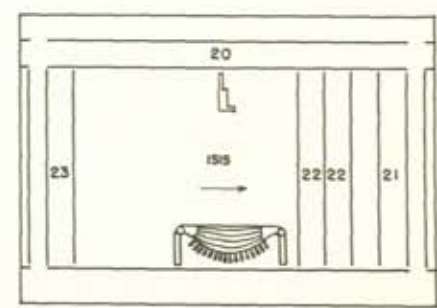
LEFT SIDE: ELEVATION

































































































HEAD-END: DEVELOPMENT



RIGHT SIDE: ELEVATION



FOOT-END: DEVELOPMENT

- 58 ①  ----- ②  ----- ③  ----- ④  -----
- 59 ①  ----- ②  ----- ③  ----- ④  ----- ⑤  ----- ⑥  -----
- 60 ① ----- ②  ----- ③  ----- ④  ----- ⑤  ----- ⑥  ----- ⑦  ----- ⑧ ----- ⑨  ----- ⑩  ----- ⑪  ----- ⑫ ----- ⑬  ----- ⑭  ----- ⑮ ----- ⑯  ----- ⑰  ----- ⑱  ----- ⑲  ----- ⑳  ----- ㉑  ----- ㉒  ----- ㉓  ----- ㉔  ----- ㉕  ----- ㉖-㉗ Destroyed ㉘  ----- ㉙-㉚ Destroyed ㉛  ----- ㉜  ----- ㉝  ----- ㉞  ----- ㉟  ----- ㊱  ----- ㊲  ----- ㊳  ----- ㊴  ----- ㊵  ----- ㊶  ----- ㊷  ----- ㊸  ----- ㊹  ----- ㊺  ----- ㊻  ----- ㊼  ----- ㊽  ----- ㊾  ----- ㊿  ----- ①  ----- ②  ----- ③  ----- ④  ----- ⑤  ----- ⑥  ----- ⑦  ----- ⑧  ----- ⑨  ----- ⑩  ----- ⑪  ----- ⑫  ----- ⑬  ----- ⑭  ----- ⑮  ----- ⑯  ----- ⑰  ----- ⑱  ----- ㉑  ----- ㉒  ----- ㉓  ----- ㉔  ----- ㉕  ----- ㉖  ----- ㉗  ----- ㉘  ----- ㉙  ----- ㉚  ----- ㉛  ----- ㉜  ----- ㉝  ----- ㉞  ----- ㉟  ----- ㊱  ----- ㊲  ----- ㊳  ----- ㊴  ----- ㊵  ----- ㊶  ----- ㊷  ----- ㊸  ----- ㊹  ----- ㊺ ----- ㊻ ----- ㊼ ----- ㊽ ----- ㊾ ----- ㊿ -----

57 4th - 58 4th - 59 4th - 60 4th
 61 4th - 62 4th - 63 4th - 64 4th
 65 4th - 66 4th - 67 4th - 68 4th
 69 4th - 70 4th - 71 4th - 72 4th
 73 4th - 74 4th - 75 4th - 76 4th
 77 4th - 78-80 Destroyed 81 4th
 82 4th - 83 4th - 84 4th - 85 4th
 86 4th - 87 4th - 88 4th - 89-91 Destroyed 92 4th
 93 4th - 94 4th - 95-102 Destroyed 103 4th
 104 4th - 105 4th - 106 4th - 107 4th
 108 4th - 109 4th - 110 4th - 111 4th
 112 4th - 113 4th - 114 4th - 115 4th
 116 4th - 117 4th - 118 4th - 119-125 Destroyed 126 4th
 127 4th - 128 4th - 129-139 Destroyed

Wedjat Eyes (incised): Sarcophagus, exterior, left side, 2nd panel.

Texts (incised):¹

Lid, upper surface	[Texts 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10].
Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end	Texts 13, 14, 15, 17.
Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end	Texts 20, 21, 22, 23.
Sarcophagus, exterior, right side	Texts 26, [27], 29, 2, 30 A, 9, 31, 5, 32, 34.
Sarcophagus, exterior, left side	Texts 36, 37, 39, 8, 58, 59, 4, 40, 10, 41, 43.
Lid, under surface	[Text 44] (?).
Sarcophagus, top surfaces of walls	[Texts 50, 51, 52, 53] (?).
Sarcophagus, interior, floor	Text 54.
Sarcophagus, interior, walls	Text 60 (139 columns).

Colours:

Ground colour: Exterior of sarcophagus painted dark red and varnished (lid and interior of sarcophagus not painted).

Additional Colours: Inscriptions on exterior, yellow; wigs, collars, bracelets, etc., of figures, blue.

Traces of blue in brows and appendages of *wedjat* eyes.

Condition:

Broken in antiquity into two or three thousand pieces, approximately half of which have been recovered. The extant fragments range in size from $2 \times 2 \times 1$ cm. to $55 \times 45 \times 10$ cm., the majority of them being small. On one fragment of the lid a hollow in the surface resulting from a flaw in the stone had been patched in antiquity with tinted plaster.

Base:

No traces found.

It was probably the intention of the ancient artisans to leave the lid unpainted until after it had been set in place on the sarcophagus at the time of Sennemût's burial in Tomb 71—an event which we have every reason to suppose never took place. Unfortunately, there is no definite evidence that the lid was even inscribed, although the presence on the sides of the sarcophagus of the second halves of Texts 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10 implies that the first parts of these texts were (or were to have been) written on the lid and suggests the arrangement shown in pl. V.²

In place of Chapter LXXII of the Book of the Dead, which on the royal sarcophagi occupies the second panel on the right side of the box (Text 30), Sennemût's sarcophagus carries a composite text (30 A) made up of Chapters XXXIV (30 A, i-v) and XLV (v-viii) and abridged versions of Chapters VIII (ix-xii) and LXII (xii-xiii) (see pls. IV, 2; V). In the corresponding panel on the left side of the sarcophagus we find below the *wedjat* eyes Chapter LXXXVI (Text 59) and, written in four horizontal lines above the eyes, the remnants of what appears to have been a shorter version of the same chapter.

Chapter CXXV of the Book of the Dead, brief excerpts from which occur on the royal sarcophagi (Texts 19, 28, 38), appeared in its entirety on the interior surfaces of

¹ For the numbering and identification of Texts 1-54 see *Royal Sarcophagi*, 172-6, 183 ff. To the references cited there add Blackman, *JEA* 21, 2, n. 7; 8 f.; Badawi, *Ann. Serv.* 44, 181 ff.

² See *Royal Sarcophagi*, 78 ff., fig. 21, pl. 18.

made for herself and had caused it to be altered to receive the mummy and coffins of her father, Tuthmosis I.¹ On the other hand, Sennemūt's sarcophagus must have been finished and in Tomb 71 long before Regnal Year 16, by which time work was already in progress on his Dēr el-Bahri tomb.² The latest date preserved in a series of work reports from Tomb 71 is Year 11;³ and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that it was in or about this year (1493 B.C.) that the sarcophagus was completed and placed in the tomb. The date is an equally plausible one for the completion of Hatshepsut's sarcophagus (D) and its setting in place in her tomb (No. 20) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.⁴

When, in or shortly after Year 19 of Tuthmosis III, Sennemūt fell from royal favour,⁵ his enemies did not bother to erase his name from the inscriptions on his sarcophagus; but adopted the simpler and more satisfying expedient of smashing the monument itself into small pieces. By Akhenaten's day not enough remained to offend the eyes of the devotees of Aten, and the name of Amūn is therefore intact wherever it occurs in the sadly fragmentary texts.

¹ Winlock, *JEA* 15, 58 ff.; Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, 2, 149, 158 ff.

² Winlock, *Excavations*, 141, 151.

⁴ Cf. Winlock, *JEA* 15, 67.

³ Hayes, *Ostraka*, 23, No. 80.

⁵ Winlock, *Excavations*, 152; Helck, *op. cit.*, 53.

VARIA SUDANICA

By A. J. ARKELL

THE following article contains notes of additions to knowledge about the ancient history of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan made since 1939, with particular reference to its relations with ancient Egypt. It has been compiled at the request of the editor of the *Topographical Bibliography* in connexion with volume VII (now in the press).

The order in which sites are taken is that in which they are found as one progresses upstream from the Egyptian frontier.

Map Sheet 35-E

C-Group settlement at Faras West

In *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 8, 5, Griffith records the discovery of a C-Group limestone bangle about 200 metres on the river side of the A-Group cemetery which he excavated; and on pp. 67-8 he indicates that no remains of C-Group habitations were found at Faras. Yet on April 25, 1946, when accompanied by Antiquities Officer Thabit Eff. Hassan, I found unmistakable indications of a C-Group settlement strung out along the west bank of a comparatively late stage of the (now dry) western channel of the Nile, just below (i.e. east or on the river side of) the A-Group cemetery excavated by Griffith. The settlement is marked by rings of stones which no doubt were placed round circular grass huts, in the centre of which are often traces of a hearth. Associated with these hut circles we found sherds, including fragments of two bowls of C-Group ware, a flint knife, two flint sickle blades, a small copper awl, a shallow stone bowl (or deeply hollowed lower grindstone), etc. The above are entered under No. 5110 in the antiquities catalogue of the Khartūm Museum. Catalogued under No. 5111 is a complete beadmater's outfit, found in one place in this settlement, and comprising a small carnelian borer, seven polishing pebbles, over thirty bone beads made from the leg bones of a large bird, fragments of similar beads, and fragments of leg bones from which these beads had been cut, fragments of ostrich egg-shell, an unfinished ostrich egg-shell disk bead, about fifty disk beads of faded blue faience, two fragments of bracelet made from shell (one fragment bored at each end), one fragment of bracelet made from ivory (?), and one lump of worked ivory.

Dibeira East

In 1938 a New Kingdom shaft tomb in a small hill about a mile east of the river was found to have been recently robbed, almost certainly by Saidis attached to the Egyptian Government survey expedition which was working in that area about 1935. A few yards to the north of this tomb was a two-chambered tomb chapel. On the north wall of the tomb chamber are painted scenes of offerings, and on the lintel and jambs of the door to the second chamber there are normal funerary prayers in well-cut hieroglyphs. In the second chamber on the east wall are four battered statues of Dḥuṯotpe with





1. Hieroglyph Hill from the south-west



2. Hieroglyph Hill. Graffito 2



3. Hieroglyph Hill. Graffito 3



4. Hieroglyph Hill. Graffito 5





5. Gebel Shēkh Suliman. Graffiti 12-15



6. Gebel Shēkh Suliman. Graffiti 19-20
Vertical: Showing top to left

GRAFFITI NEAR WĀDI ḤALFA

the title — (Serra), his wife Tentnub, his father Ruiu (same title), and mother (name illegible). For the inscriptions see the accompanying article by Miss R. Moss.

About half a mile west-north-west of this hill is another New Kingdom rock chamber tomb which was robbed at the same time, and south-west of this tomb on the edge of the alluvial ground, east of Khor Salama, near Abbasia, and just north of the house of Mohamed Amin Hasan and east of the sagia of Ahmed Sadik, in January 1939 I found traces of a badly disturbed archaic cemetery (of possibly proto-dynastic date) with black-topped red sherds showing external combing and incised decoration, a polished celt, and a rough stone palette. Kharṭūm Catalogue, No. 5126.

Just south and east of Dibeira Girls' School there is a Meroitic cemetery, some of the larger graves of which have been robbed.

Serra West. Meroitic Cemetery

In December 1946 the 'omda of Serra West sent in the upper half of a Meroitic grave-stela of white sandstone, with the figure of a man in high relief, and above the figure four lines of inscription in cursive Meroitic. In March 1947 a second stela of white sandstone was sent in apparently from the same site. It has the figure of a woman in high relief and thirteen lines of cursive Meroitic inscription. These stelae are published by Dr. Macadam in this volume, see pp. 43 ff.


Map Sheet 35-I

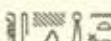
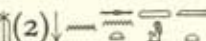
Gebel Dabarossa, near Wādi Ḥalfa

A round-topped stela with nine lines of cursive Meroitic found by the army when road-making in August 1944 is also published here by Dr. Macadam.

Middle Kingdom graffiti at Hieroglyph Hill, at about 21°52' N. 31°07' E.

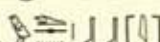
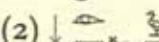

This site, which was reported by Mohamed Osman Hasan of 'Abdelkadir village, was visited by car in company with the District Commissioner, Mr. J. V. D'A. Rowley, on December 14, 1941. I visited it again by camel with Mr. P. L. Shinnie from November 22 to 24, 1947. 'Hieroglyph Hill' is the smaller of two isolated hills of sandstone of pyramidal shape, which appear to have been quarried in ancient times (see pl. IX, 1). They stand close to one another, approximately six miles west of 'Abdelkadir village on the Nile. For transcribing the graffiti from this site and from Gebel Shēkh Suliman, translating them and commenting on them, I am indebted to Professor Černý, and gratefully acknowledge his help.


In a cleft in the rock on the south-west side of the hill are two roughly executed male human figures facing right, the upper figure carrying a staff in one hand and a baton in the other, while level with the head of the lower figure are possibly (1) the numbers . On the opposite side of the cleft is a roughly cut straight line framing a male figure wearing a peaked kilt, facing right, and carrying staff and baton, above and behind which runs the hieroglyphic graffiti (see pl. IX, 2):

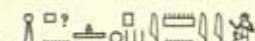
2. (1)  (2) 

'The retainer Intef, born of Sēnet, justified.'

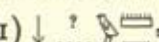
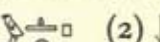
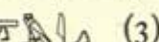
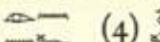
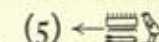
In another cleft farther round the hill to the south are four graffiti, one in hieroglyphic script and the others in hieratic. For one of the latter, see pl. IX, 3, in which the inscription, written above and to the right of a male figure in a peaked kilt, facing right and carrying a baton in the right hand and a staff in the left, reads:

3. (1) ←  (2) ↓  (3) ↓ 
 ' Sensūbek-Beby. Made (for) him (by) the son of his son Kameru.'

This inscription is particularly interesting, for Professor Černý considers that from the style of the writing and especially from the form of , it is very early and may date to the Old Kingdom. It is on the back wall of the cleft. On the right-hand wall of the cleft is a one-line hieroglyphic graffiti:

4. 
 'The carrier of stone (? *inr*?) for offering-tables (?) Imeny.'

This apparently indicates one of the reasons why stone was quarried here. Below and to the right of graffiti (4) is a male figure in a peaked kilt, facing right and carrying a baton in the right hand and a fan in the left, with a hieratic graffiti (see pl. IX, 4):

5. (1) ↓  (2) ↓  (3) ↓  (4)  (5) ← 
 ' Mentuhotpe-Shemy. Made for him (by) his son Mentuhotpe.'

Immediately to the right is another male figure in a peaked kilt, facing right and carrying a baton in the right hand and a staff in the left, on either side of which is a vertical column of hieratic which reads:

6. (1) ↓  (2) ↓  (3) ↓ 
 'The herald Mentuhotpe's son . . . uyeby. Made for him (by) his son Imeny.'


A little farther round the hill to the south again is another human figure with a crude hieratic graffiti (7) which apparently contains the name Sebkhotpe.

On the north side of the hill are apparently the ruins of several rock shelters cut in the sandstone hill, which have been destroyed, probably by subsequent quarrying. In them are a few scattered and unintelligible hieratic graffiti. In one shelter on a rock which is being weathered away and will probably collapse before long there is (8) the following:



Near it are (9) and (10), two unintelligible hieratic graffiti; and on the slopes of the hill below were found two pieces broken from a slab of sandstone, which may once have formed the wall of a rock-cut shelter. Each of these fragments had part of an inscription in small hieratic characters.

I am indebted to Professor Černý for the transcription of graffiti (2) to (6) from my hand-copies and very indifferent photographs, and for the translations which are

¹ Or possibly corrected into .

attached. In his opinion they all date from the Middle Kingdom, except (3), which may well be earlier.

When the discovery of the names of Intef and Mentuhotpe in graffiti on Hieroglyph Hill was reported to Miss Rosalind Moss, she drew my attention to a record by Colonel Lyons in *Bessarione*, 1st Ser., 9 (1900 and 1901), p. 428, of hieratic graffiti with the names of Mentuhotpe, Sebekhotpe, and Amenemhab 'seen in hills round Buhen'; and this led to Mr. Shinnie and myself giving such time as we could spare in November 1947 to a hurried examination of the hills west and south-west of Buhen, for it did not seem that Hieroglyph Hill could fairly be described as one of the hills round Buhen. Our search was by no means exhaustive, and it is highly probable that other graffiti than those now to be described will be found.

Buhen

On the south side of a small sandstone hill west-north-west of the temples, and immediately west of another small sandstone hill in which are three cave graves that were excavated by Randall-MacIver and Woolley, are a few crude hieroglyphic graffiti which apparently contain the phrases 'beloved of Horus', 'beloved of Isis', and a place-name.

Gebel Shēkh Suliman

This is a small sandstone hill north of 'Abdelkadir village and about half a mile immediately west of the site of Buhen South (known locally as Kor), which was described by Somers Clarke in *JEA* 3, 163, and pl. 27, but to which it seems that despite its eroded condition more attention should be paid than has been given hitherto. Its situation at the end of the easily navigable Shellal-Wādi Halfa reach of the Nile and its huge extent indicate that it must have been the Middle Kingdom *Tkn* of the Semnah boundary stele, while surface finds suggest that it must have been an important base in the New Kingdom as well. Features not mentioned by Somers Clarke that were noticed on our recent visit include:

- (a) Traces of a large building, perhaps an administrative building or official's house, on a gravel ridge overlooking the town site, about 80 yards north of the extreme north end of the walled town, and close to the modern survey mark S 205. In it are four sandstone column bases *in situ* in line, parallel to the river, at the north end of the building, then a gap, and then one more column base slightly out of line, while a little to the south are several displaced column bases.
- (b) A cut in the neck of sandstone that juts into the river below the town which is probably artificial, intended to make a harbour for boats.
- (c) Immediately to the west of the walled town, a cemetery of dynastic date, which has been considerably disturbed.

Gebel Shēkh Suliman is the name by which the inhabitants of 'Abdelkadir village know a small hill with a cairn on it immediately behind the site at Buhen South.

In a shelter on the east side of this hill is the Karian graffito published by Sayce in *PSBA* 32, 261 and pl. 40, 1. My copy differs in several letters from that published by Sayce and was submitted to Dr. C. Zyhlarz. He was unable to decipher it but considers

it important as indicating that the sign Ψ is not the same as the well-known Karian letter Ψ (η or χ).

In another shelter at the top of the hill on the east-south-east side are the traces of the outline of a female figure associated with (1) an illegible (?) hieratic graffito.

On the top of the hill is the modern survey mark 'Aux 205 W'. At the south end of the top of the hill is a large block of sandstone which has fallen from the top stratum of the hill. On this block is what must be a First Dynasty record of the conquest of Nubia (the Shellal-Wādi Ḥalfa reach). The scene, which has been to some extent defaced by Middle Kingdom graffiti, has already been somewhat inadequately published by Sayce in *PSBA* 32, 262 ff. It is almost impossible to photograph in daylight; pl. X shows two of a number of photographs that were taken by night on a rapid visit in January 1949 by the light of a lamp very kindly provided at short notice by Mr. Cooper of the Sudan Railways. Fig. 1 is a drawing most kindly made from a number



FIG. 1. Relief of King Djer at Gebel Shēkh Suliman.

of these photographs by Mrs. N. de Garis Davies. It shows what seems to be the original scene and omits the Middle Kingdom and later graffiti which can be seen in pl. X. It was very difficult to make a composite drawing from photographs in which the varied lighting makes the same object look very different in different photographs, and it is very good of Mrs. Davies to have undertaken it at all. Considering all the difficulties her reconstruction is most successful.

In the right-hand upper corner of the scene is a boat with a vertical stern and high sloping prow. The boat seems originally to have been in low relief, and the prow, possibly but not certainly, to have been lengthened subsequently by incised lines. It is, however, in any case of a type which is characteristic of the First Dynasty; compare the boat on the slate palette of Naḥrmer in the Cairo Museum (Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, fig. 184) and that on the ivory tablet of Naḥrmer in *PSBA* 28, pls. 1 and 2, and *Ann. Serv.* 33, pl. 1 (opposite p. 234); also the graffiti of First Dynasty boats on pot fragments from Abydos (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, pl. 12, 266 and 279). Other somewhat similar boats are earlier rather than later; compare the boat (with a sail) on a decorated predynastic pot (Capart, *op. cit.*, fig. 91) and the boat with a cabin but no sail in the predynastic 'tomb' at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. 77); also the rough outline of a boat scratched on a predynastic pot in Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*,



RELIEF OF KING DJER AT GEBEL SHĒKH SULIMAN

Above is the left-hand half and below the right-hand half

pl. 21, 52. See also H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, 140, and Petrie in *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, 28 and 35.

In front of the boat is a larger human figure, presumably a Nubian chieftain, seated facing the boat with his arms tied behind his back. A rope passes round his neck, with the end apparently attached to the prow of the boat, and another rope similarly passes round his chest, as drawn by Mrs. Davies in fig. 1; a break in the rock first led me to think that he had been transfixed by an arrow, but on re-examination of the original I have come to the conclusion that Mrs. Davies's interpretation is probably right, see pl. X. Between the chieftain and the boat is a smaller human figure, presumably dead, and below it is another human figure on its back and in its death agony. Farther to the right and below the boat are two other human corpses. For the general scene of death compare the statues of Khasekhem in Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pls. 39-41, and on the Gebel el-Arak knife handle (Petrie, *Egypt and Mesopotamia in Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 27). Just above the rope which binds the neck of the sitting chief is a round-topped (?) hut with a round-topped door, on which are one vertical and two horizontal lines perhaps indicating details of construction.

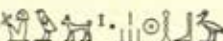

To the left of the seated figure of the chieftain at the bottom of the scene are incised two city (?) signs (cf. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 5, 1), one of which Sayce describes as 'a four-spoked wheel supporting a crescent-shaped object which seems to be the body of a cart'. Actually above the left-hand sign there is without doubt a hawk in characteristic First Dynasty form; above the other sign is a sack-like object, which may perhaps represent the Royal Placenta, in which case we apparently have here in unusual form two of the four signs that recur on royal standards in groups on First Dynasty palettes, etc.

Farther to the left is a standing human figure in low relief facing right with its arms bound behind its back and apparently in its hands the sign ¶ indicating that the figure represents Ta-Zeti (Nubia) conquered; compare Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. 58 and Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 3, 3 and perhaps 2. In front of the human figure are incised lines representing water. Behind the figure at the left end of the rock is a *serekh* which gives the name of King Djer, the third king of the First Dynasty. The façade of the palace is in low relief. Above it are three rows of incised dots, and above that (incised) a crude form of what is undoubtedly the hieroglyph *dr*, not unlike that under the right-hand hawk on the red limestone vase fragment from Abydos (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 5, 12). At the top of the *serekh* is a crude representation of the hawk facing right, to which may perhaps be compared the crude figures of hawks from First Dynasty pottery in *ibid.*, pls. 44 and 45. At a later date someone has tried to turn the *dr*-sign into an antelope by adding a head at the top left.

I am indebted to Professor Černý for drawing my attention to the dots as an essential part of the *serekh* (see Petrie, *Abydos*, II, pl. 9, 205, now in the Cairo Museum, and Borchardt in *ZÄS* 41, 85-6), and thus confirming not only that we have here the name of King Djer, the third king of the First Dynasty, but that some of the incised parts of the scene date from the First Dynasty as well as the parts that are in low relief. The rock is of soft sandstone, and easily marked. No doubt some of the incisions are of

later date. Part of the original central scene, as well as that above the boat and at the extreme right of the rock, has probably been deleted by the easy process of rubbing out with another piece of sandstone.

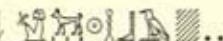
On the original scene have been cut several Middle Kingdom hieratic graffiti, viz.:

2. (1)  (2) 

'The Master of the Hounds Raḥebau's (or Kheḥebau's) (son) Ḥetepi.'

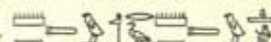
already published by Sayce.

In the bottom right-hand corner of the block is another hieratic graffito, also published by Sayce, but copied by him inaccurately:

3. ...


'The Master of Hounds Raḥeba... (or Kheḥeba...).'

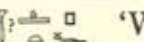
Above and between the two city (?) signs, and below and to the right of the incised figure of a man mentioned by Sayce, is a vertical hieratic graffito—not mentioned by Sayce, unless it corresponds to his figure of an Egyptian sitting above the cart (?), below whom the name of Mentuḥotpe is written—

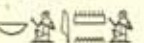
4. 

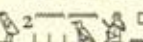
'Mentuwer's son Mentuḥotpe.'

On the back of this same block of rock, facing south, are outline drawings of human beings, an archer, a cow, etc., and the following graffiti, which are considered by Černý to date from the Middle Kingdom unless otherwise stated:

5.  'The scribe Sonb.'

6.  'Wadj(?)ḥotpef.'

7.  'Nebamūn' (New Kingdom).

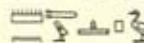
8.  'Anena Pendḥout'³ (New Kingdom).

Apparently associated with (7) is the largest outline of a man, facing left and possibly wearing on his head a crested metal helmet.

On a rock above the block with the scene in relief on it are the following Middle Kingdom graffiti in hieratic:

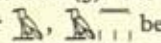
9.  '.... Intef.'

10.  'Montuy.'⁴


11.  'Mentuḥotpe's son Intefi.'

Nearby, on another weathered rock to the right of the foregoing, are traces of short hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti.

¹ The animal, judging by its ears and up-turned tail in (3) and (19) can only be a dog (*tsm*), although it is not found elsewhere jumping up as in (3) and (19). The first sign of the title, which is not clear here or in (19) seems undoubtedly to be *mnw* in (3). For the title *mnw tsm* see *Wb.* II, 75, 7.

² Clear, but probably for  being a not infrequent element in New Kingdom proper names.

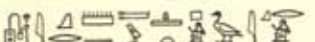
³ See Ranke, *Die äg. Personennamen*, 112, 15.

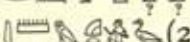

⁴ So far not attested; formed from *Mntw* like  from *Hr*.

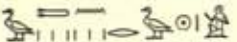
On another slab of rock, close to that with the river fight scene on it, are the following Middle Kingdom graffiti (see pl. IX, 5):

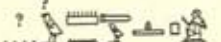
12. Unintelligible.

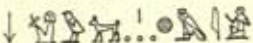
13.  Unintelligible.

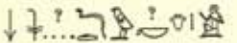
14.  'The excellent scribe Mentuhotpe's son Ōker.'

15. (1)  (2)  'Amenemōpet's' son Hotep.'

16.  Unintelligible.

18.  '.....Mentuhotpe.'

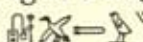
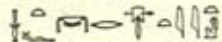
19.  'The Master of the Hounds Khemi.'

20.  'The royal.....Djedu...yeb.'

For graffiti 19 and 20 see pl. IX, 6.

On the back of this block is (21) a very weathered hieratic graffito which seems to contain the name Imeny.

On the west side of the hill on a block of sandstone near the top of the hill is the outline drawing of a large figure killing a smaller with a club and the hieroglyphic graffito:

22. (1)  (2)  (New Kingdom).

'The Scribe Patjuy. His sister Nubersetyt.'

The occurrence of graffiti at Hieroglyph Hill and Gebel Shēkh Suliman indicating people with names as closely associated with the Eleventh Dynasty as Intef, Mentuhotpe, and Sebkhotpe, employed in the vicinity as officials on such settled pursuits as quarrying stone for offering tables, hunting, and clerical work, suggests that we may have here evidence for the occupation of Nubia as far as the Second Cataract by the Eleventh Dynasty. The even earlier scene in relief depicting a fight round a ship must have been carved to commemorate the original First Dynasty conquest; and these occurrences so near the Middle Kingdom base of *Ikn* suggest that that base too may date back to Dyn. XI or even earlier.

Atiri Island

In November 1945 a fortified Christian settlement was found on the island, with a small mud-brick church at the top, in which are traces of paintings including a robed human figure. Sherds include a coarsely glazed ware, possibly of local manufacture.

On the east bank of the Nile there appear to be four X-Group mound graves, the tops of which are said to have been levelled during the reoccupation, to enable officers to pitch their tents on them.

Akasha East

In the gravel on the 100 (?) ft. terrace, south and south-east of the old officers' mess, have been found sherds of A(?) -Group rippled black-topped red ware, and fine ware

¹ It is hardly possible to read anything else than *ipt*; if the latter is correct, this is so far the only Middle Kingdom example of this common proper name.

incised with herring-bone and other decorations, also a green stone celt with a fish tail butt (Kharṭūm Catalogue, No. 4753). This indicates an early occupation of the site.

Gebel Furer, Dakka (Dakki on map)

On Gebel Furer there are petroglyphs of several boats of ancient Egyptian type, cattle, and a giraffe.

At the foot of the hill to the east, and on the eastern slopes of the hill itself, fine sherds decorated with herring-bone and incised lines of dots and also with combing have been found, indicating an early site probably contemporary with the rock pictures. A chert crescent microlith and a small stone palette were also found (Kharṭūm Catalogue, Nos. 3887, 5263, and 5264).

Map Sheet 35-M

'Amārah East

A few sherds of protodynastic (?) black-topped red rippled ware have been found on the gravel south of the village.

'Amārah West

There is a robbed Nubian cemetery with Kerma-Culture sherds about a quarter of a mile north of the temple.

Gebel Abri

On a slab of sandstone which has fallen from the cliff at the south side of Gebel Abri there are rock engravings—an upright human figure facing left wearing the Double Crown and carrying a *was* sceptre, and to the left a bull or cow with spreading horns, one of which has been utilized (by a later artist?) to give an upraised arm to the head and shoulders of another human figure, the head of which suggests a Roman style. Behind the Egyptian figure are two smaller figures, one of an antelope or cow with horns growing forward, and the other with spreading horns. On the extreme right edge of the slab are two concentric offering tables. Possibly the whole group is contemporary with the Meroitic temple of 'Amārah East that no longer exists.

Abri Town

In the District Commissioner's office at the Police post there has been for some years the base of a double statue in black granite, with an inscription on the back containing the name of Amenophis III. It is believed to have been brought here from Sadenga (Suwarda?) by Crowfoot, and it has recently been moved to Wādi Ḥalfa by the District Commissioner. It is hoped that the inscription will shortly be published by Professor Fairman.

Over the door of a house near Abri school I found part of a sandstone lintel broken off where the cornice begins, measuring $132 \times 34 \times 17.5$ cm., on which is a scene in which the Viceroy Ḥekanakht holding a fan kneels to right and left with hands raised in adoration of the cartouches of Ramesses II. I am indebted to Professor Fairman for deciphering the Viceroy's name and for transcribing the inscription as follows:

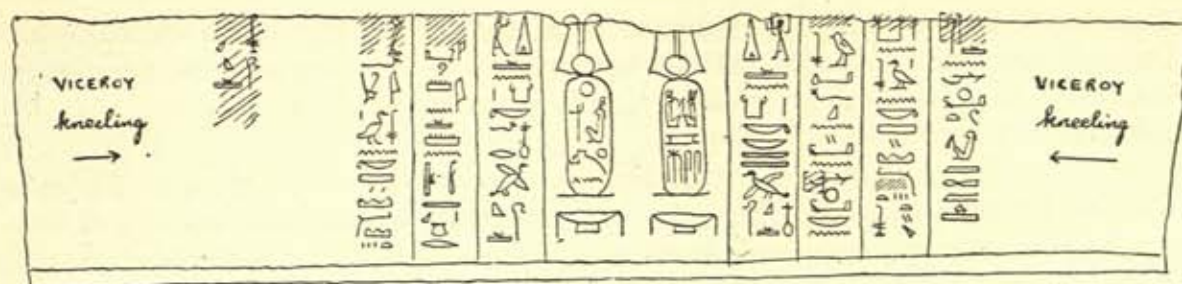


FIG. 2.

In another part of the same house was found the lower part of a right-hand door-jamb of sandstone, measuring $117 \times 34 \times 19.5$ cm., containing the name of Ḥarnakht, deputy of Kush, in the following inscription (for transcribing which I am also indebted to Professor Fairman):

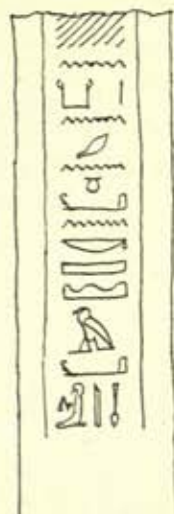


FIG. 3

These historic fragments are on their way to the Khartūm Museum. At first I thought that they had probably come from one of the temples on Sai Island, which are known to have been quarried for building material, and from which came a lintel and some blocks of the same Ḥarnakht, now in the Khartūm Museum, Catalogue No. 446; but the recent discovery of the name of the Viceroy Ḥeḫanakht at 'Amārah West by the Egyptian Exploration Society's expedition under the leadership of Professor Fairman makes it possible that they came from that site.

Sai Island

On the watershed of the island about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south of the end of the hill there is a group of large low mounds, each covered with uniform white quartz pebbles and surrounded by a ring of black stones. On one mound the black stones predominate, and the white pebbles are arranged like rays radiating from the centre. These mounds are clearly contemporary with the Dyn. XII–XIII tumuli at Kerma excavated by Reisner. They were all robbed in antiquity and at least one, which measures about 130 ft. in diameter, was robbed again by the robber 'Abdelsamad from Upper Egypt, who did

so much damage to tombs in this area in 1922. Sherds of Kerma ware occur where the mounds have been disturbed. To the north of these mounds is an extensive Nubian cemetery, of probably contemporary date, which also has been much disturbed by robbers.

In the sandstone south of the citadel is a New Kingdom shaft grave and a number of dynastic cave graves, all that are obvious having been robbed in antiquity. In a modern graveyard a short distance south of these graves I was shown by the 'omda in 1939 a cache of fragments from a number of statues which had been broken to pieces, burnt and buried, and disclosed recently by people digging a grave. The fragments, which are very incomplete and have been taken into the Khartūm Museum, include pieces from a large black granite statue of a king, a small group of two figures facing inwards (possibly two goddesses protecting someone on a central block) also in black granite, a small statuette in dark-green stone of a kneeling man, a double statue of a man and his wife in painted sandstone, etc. With them was a fragment of charred wood with the hieroglyph 𓆎 on it.

In 1937 Professor Blackman and Mr. Fairman found in the citadel the lower portion of a silcrete sandstone statue of Amosis I enthroned intact from the waist down, the feet placed on the Nine Bows. The front of the throne bears a hieroglyphic inscription on either side containing the king's cartouches. The statue was reburied *in situ*, pending opportunity to remove it to the Khartūm Museum. A head, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, in the same material, and no doubt belonging to the same statue, was found by the 'omda about 100 yards farther south. It has an inscription on the back of the plinth containing the Horus-name of the king, and is now in the Khartūm Museum (Catalogue No. 3828).

In the modern Moslem cemetery of Adu, well north of the hill, was found in 1947 a sherd of rippled proto-dynastic? A-Group ware (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 5265).

Wawa

Fine sherds with incised herring-bone and impressed dot decoration indicate an early occupation-site on the gravel terrace north-east of the Rest House.

Agula

In March 1947 O. H. Myers and P. L. Shinnie found two Kerma-Culture sites (settlement and cemetery), the cemetery just east of a gravel ridge west of Agula village, and the settlement nearer the river and to the south of the cemetery.

Gebel Delgo

At the south end of the hill, where basalt scree falls over the sandstone, and graves, possibly Ancient Egyptian or Christian, seem to have been cut into the sandstone, there are slightly lower down the slope a number of flat-topped cairns of basalt. From one of these cairns, which had been disturbed, had come sherds from a black-topped red pot with incised decoration reminiscent of Kerma Nubian and suggesting that the cairn may be contemporary with Kerma-Culture. Sherds of a red ware decorated with impressed dots and some microliths suggest that there is here also an occupation-site of even earlier date.

Map Sheet 45-A

Sabu, near Geddi

There are petroglyphs of Ancient Egyptian boats, cattle, etc., all over the sandstone cliffs which overhang the motor road where it passes between these cliffs and the river bank. At the northern end of the cliffs are several hieroglyphic graffiti, two of which refer to 'the Scribe Dhutmosē' and another scribe. Near them is a petroglyph of a giraffe, possibly earlier than the cattle pictures, which suggest C-Group. There are later petroglyphs, medieval horsemen with swords and dogs, and crude camel men (probably the latest of all). A lion with $\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ .\ .\ .\ \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi$ presumably dates from the Christian period. In the valley to the west sherds and late stone artifacts suggest that the whole area would repay exploration. A piece of worked sandstone, apparently from a doorway, suggests the possibility of cave graves.

Tumbus

On the north side of the ridge of granite boulders east of the quarry in which lies the well-known royal statue with a shattered head is an extensive cemetery, to which attention was drawn by three uninscribed (Meroitic?) offering tables which had recently been excavated from a grave in this area by a local native. The cemetery must be partly New Kingdom, two Mycenaean sherds being picked up by Dows Dunham and myself on a visit in December 1946 (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 5171).

Argo. Hag Zummar

Sherds of typical Kerma fine black-topped red pottery and of Kerma Nubian ware are to be found coming from the lower levels of the occupation-site a short distance south-east of the temple site with the colossal statues, indicating Kerma-Culture occupation of this site.

Kerma Basin and Wādi Khowi

There are sporadic occupation sites probably belonging to the Kerma-Culture all over the Kerma Basin and the Wādi Khowi east of Kerma. They are easily recognized by piles of burnt red earth from the site of the hearth, which has been left slightly higher than the surrounding country by erosion of the latter.

Bir Shetilat

Just where the new Sikkat el Maheila motor track crosses the Wādi Khowi north-east of a group of date-palms there is an extensive Kerma-Culture occupation-site.

Map Sheet 45-E

Argi

In the 'khalwa' (bush-school) of Wad Shabbo there has been lying for many years an offering table of dark-grey stone measuring 130 by 60 cm. There are traces of a hieroglyphic inscription along each long side, and between them the usual representation of loaves, baskets, joints of meat, and in the centre a wine jar: but the stone has been much worn, possibly from use as a grindstone. That it comes from a grave in the vicinity and that Argi was a site occupied in Napatan as well as in New Kingdom times is suggested by the discovery of some robbed graves perhaps 2 miles east of the Nile

and not far west of the domed tomb (*kubba*) of Wad Idris, where fragments of pots, bronze awls, and a fragment of a scarab with a representation of a sphinx and Amen-Rē and 'Menkheper[rē]' in crude hieroglyphs (probably Dyn. XXV) were found, that had been left on the surface by the tomb robbers (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 5123).

Map Sheet 45-F

Gebel Barkal

For traces of four colossal royal figures cut in the side of Gebel Barkal in probable imitation of Abu Simbel, with a pair of cartouches (probably of Taharqa 688-663 B.C.) and an inscription in hieroglyphs on the head of the left-hand colossus, see *Illustrated London News*, February 15, 1947.

Map Sheet 45-C

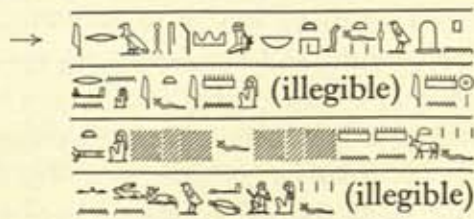
Hagar el-Merwa ('*Hagar el Meroe*'), *Kurgus*

In *Sudan Notes and Records*, 9 (2), 22, H. C. Jackson in 1926 reported the occurrence of rock pictures, a hieroglyphic inscription and cartouches, stated by F. Addison, the Conservator of Antiquities, possibly to be that of Tuthmosis III but more probably to be that of Shebitku (Shabataka), on a quartz rock near the railway line at Kanisa Kurgus. In June 1939 Dr. M. F. Laming Macadam wrote to me suggesting that this might indeed be the cartouche of Tuthmosis III; I therefore visited the site and spent three days there in December of that year.

The inscription is on the north-east side of a conspicuous quartz boulder just east of the railway line; the name means 'quartz rock' in Arabic and has nothing to do with Meroë. The inscription, which is not easy to see at first, has been hammered into the hard quartz rock. Fig. 4 shows what I was able to record of it, but there is no doubt that much more could be made out by one well versed in hieroglyphs. The rock is, however, difficult of access, and since no expert has been able to find time to visit it in the eleven years since my visit, it is considered advisable to publish what can be made out of it now, pending a more thorough study in the future.

There is little doubt that it is a boundary inscription of Tuthmosis I, reduplicated by Tuthmosis III.

In the centre Amen-Rē, facing left, ram-headed and wearing tall plumes, seated, holds 1 and presents ♀ to the beak of the royal falcon, facing right, wearing tall plumes. The falcon surmounts the Horus name of (apparently) Tuthmosis I, *K3-nht-mry-M3rt*. There is an undeciphered column of hieroglyphs behind the Horus name. Below are four lines of inscription. Dr. Macadam, who has not seen the original, suggested on seeing my transcription that the reading might be somewhat as follows:



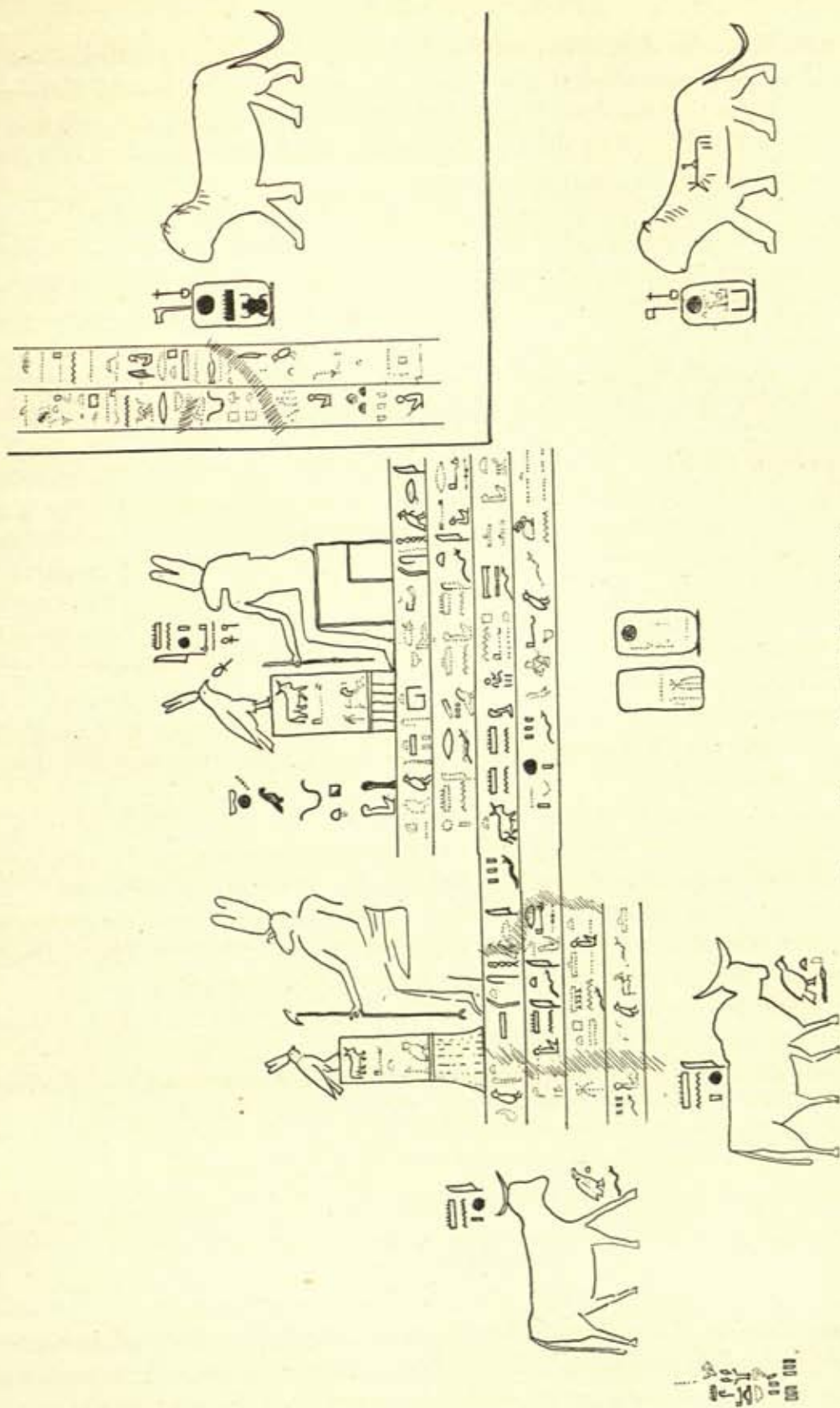


FIG. 4. Kurgus Boundary Inscriptions.

'As for any Nubian who shall disregard this notice, my father Amūn hath granted for me that... Amen-Rē and Atum... his cattle. He shall have no heirs (?)....' Dr. Macadam comments that the word translated 'disregard' is used both of actual damage to monuments and of the overstepping of boundaries; and it seems therefore very probable that this is a boundary notice.

Below the four lines are apparently the cartouches of Tuthmosis I, *ꜥꜥ-hpr-kꜣ-rꜥ*, and at equal distances to right and left of the cartouches and slightly below them are (right) a lion facing left and before it 'the Good God *ꜥꜥ-hpr-kꜣ-rꜥ*', and (left) a bull facing right forming part of the inscription 'Amen-Rē, the Bull of his Mother'. All the foregoing makes a symmetrical layout.

The reduplication of the inscription by Tuthmosis III has spoilt the symmetry of the original, for owing to faults in the rock the subsequent scribe had to put the second version wherever the rock was good enough for inscribing.

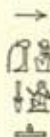
Immediately to the left of the central group, with the first two lines of the second version of the inscription appearing to form a continuation of the last two lines of the earlier inscription, is an almost exact copy, showing Amen-Rē ram-headed facing left, and before him the royal falcon surmounting the Horus-name of (apparently) Tuthmosis III *Kꜣ-nḥt-ḥꜣ-m-Wꜣst*. Immediately to the left of the boundary inscription is the repetition of the Bull ('Amen-Rē Bull of his Mother'): but the corresponding lion facing left with 'the Good God *Mn-hpr-rꜥ*' is asymmetrically placed some distance above and to the right of the rest of the group (owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the rock), and the symmetry is further spoiled by two vertical columns of hieroglyphs immediately to the left of the cartouche *Mn-hpr-rꜥ*. Dr. Macadam was not able to decipher these two columns.

In the left-hand figure of Amūn enthroned, and in the upper lion (i.e. those of Tuthmosis III) the traces of red lines with which the scene was outlined by a draughtsman before it was engraved in the rock are clearer than in the rest of the scene.


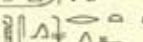
Another interesting point is that the technique and style of the cutting of the cartouches here is very like that of the cartouches of Tuthmosis I at Tumbus (cf. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 5), where also the craftsman had to deal with a hard rock (granite).

In the extreme left-hand corner is a small inscription, probably a later addition, which appears to say something about 'Nine (Bows?)'.

On the east side of Hagar el-Merwa are several other inscriptions and graffiti, mostly much destroyed by weathering. Low down on the north-east side is a small very well executed graffito in red.



On the western side of the rock (facing the river) are also several graffiti, traces of pink pigment indicating that there had once been a large inscription or possibly two, of which now only one or two signs are legible. To the right of this are traces of another

graffito in red, in which it is possible to distinguish the cartouche of Queen 'Aḥmosē, presumably the queen of Tuthmosis I, viz.:  'the great Queen 'Aḥmosē repeating life' in one line, and immediately below →  'accompanying the King in his goings.'

Down on the river bank, exactly opposite Ḥagar el-Merwa, and situated where it could control the passage of boats through a bar of rocks, are the remains of what must have been an Ancient Egyptian mud-brick fort, presumably constructed by Tuthmosis I. The site is known as Kanisa Kurgus (i.e. Kurgus church) and judging from a mound of red brick fragments and Christian period sherds it did contain a church at a later date. But the size of the mud bricks ($15 \times 8 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ in.) in the massive mud wall—the north wall was 18 ft. thick where measured—leaves little doubt as to the real origin of the edifice. The fort was approximately a rectangle, and measured 85 yards on both the river side (W.) and the land side (E.). It is about 75 yards long on the north side and 70 yards long on the south side. There was a large entrance on the east side and a small entrance in the north wall, the latter protected by a curtain wall; and outside the north wall there seems to have been glacis protection. The west wall is protected from the river by stone facing, although it is now some distance above high flood level.

Judging from sherds on the surface some of the cairn graves to the east and north of Ḥagar el-Merwa would be well worth excavating and may represent a Nubian cemetery of the period, if not earlier. The fort site itself has been much damaged by people digging soil for top-dressing.

This is an important discovery, for it seems to prove that Tuthmosis I advanced farther upstream and occupied more of the Nile valley than has hitherto been realized. Further, the occupation was probably maintained or repeated by Tuthmosis III. The strategic importance of the site is obvious, for not only would it control the passage of boats by river, but the land route from Egypt *via* Korosko to this part of Kush.

Map Sheet 55-C

East of Isnabir

A scarab of steatite (?), somewhat weathered, measuring 50 mm. in length, and inscribed with the cartouche of Amenophis III *Nb-mwt-rꜥ mry-Tmn-Rꜥ*, the — in 'Amūn' being shown as a horizontal line, was presented to the Khartūm Museum (Catalogue No. 3861) in December 1941 by Shēkh Sadik Mohamed Talha, shēkh of the Batahin *khut* of Abu Deleig. It was found a few miles east of Isnabir (Lat. $15^{\circ} 52' N$. Long. $34^{\circ} 12' E$), i.e. approximately 100 miles east of Khartūm, and although it has not been possible to visit the place where it was found, it sounds as if there were ancient graves there.

Map Sheet 45-N

Napatan (?) scarab from the Wādi Mugaddam

In April 1945 Shēkh Mujedid Mohamed Mujedid, *wakīl 'omda* of the Geriat, presented to the Khartūm Museum two scarabs found near Umm Harot on the Wādi Mugaddam. Catalogue No. 4969/1 is of glazed steatite, and has on the back a reduplicated design

in which two barques containing the rope sign \times are separated by two lotus flowers back to back, the whole surrounded by a border representing a rope. Catalogue No. 4969/2 is damaged but appears to have on the back a crude version of *mry-Imm-Rc* in hieroglyphs.

Map Sheet 55-J

Napatan(?) scarab from Kosti

When the new district headquarters was being built on a sandhill at Kosti in February 1939, it was discovered that the site chosen was a somewhat eroded occupation site with Gebel Moya pottery dating probably from the Napatan period.

In 1940 when the foundations of the new police stables were dug, a scarab was found and presented to the Khartūm Museum by the then District Commissioner, Mr. A. S. Oakley (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 3562). It is a worn steatite scarab, with $\odot \equiv \text{𐀓} \equiv$ on the reverse, surrounded by a border, and may well be of Napatan date.

Map Sheet 55-K

Scarab of Shabako from Sennar

A fine steatite scarab showing slight traces of blue glaze and measuring 37 mm. in length was found by Col. Topham, R.E., in October 1940 at the water's edge on the west bank of the Blue Nile just downstream of the Sennar Dam. In this area (between the protection wall of the Sennar garden and the old river channel) various graves have been exposed and destroyed by erosion caused by the water from the dam sluices, and there is also an occupation-site with potsherds of the Gebel Moya culture. It is probably from this site that this scarab came: and it is important as indicating a settlement of Dyn. XXV date at Sennar. The design consists of a recumbent sphinx facing right with two feathers on its head and the sign χ for 'protection' (?) between its paws: above its back 'Amūn' in hieroglyphs. Below is the cartouche of Shabako *Nfr-kꜣ-rꜥ* with a uraeus on either side, above \cup (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 3643). This scarab is similar to, but rather finer than, the scarab (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 1762) from Napata published in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 10, 113 and pl. 42, 20.

Map Sheet 66-J

Doleib Hill

Two fragments of alabaster which fit together and appear to form the base of a small cup were found at Doleib Hill, which is near the junction of the Sobat river with the White Nile south of Malakal, approximately 400 miles south of Khartūm, and were sent to the Khartūm Museum in May 1943 by the Rev. Don McClure of the American Mission (Khartūm Catalogue, No. 4709). There is obviously an ancient site at Doleib Hill, and it is not impossible that future examination may prove that imports from Ancient Egypt reached as far south as this.

THE ANCIENT NAME OF SERRA (SUDAN)

By ROSALIND MOSS

IN Mr. Arkell's article on new discoveries in the Sudan in the present volume of this *Journal*, he mentions a New Kingdom rock tomb at Dibeira East, north of Wādi Halfa, which belonged to Dhuthotpe, prince of Serra. When I visited this site in the

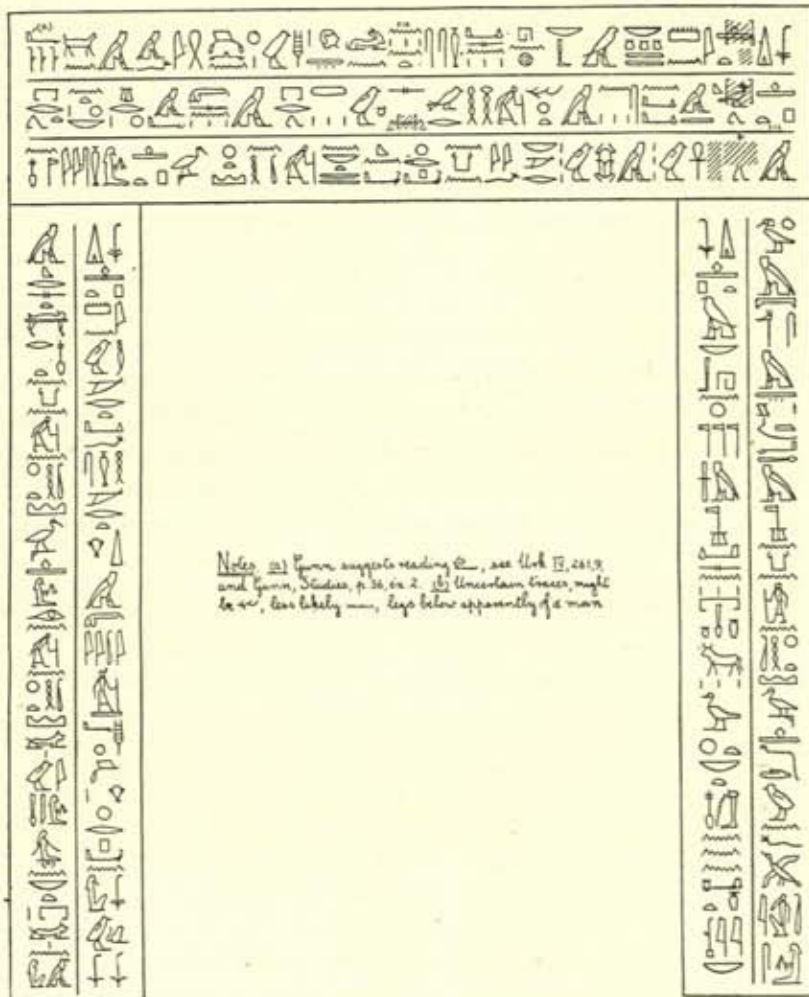














FIG. 1.

autumn of 1946, I made a rough copy of the inscribed lintel and jambs, and the following year Professor Fairman and Mr. Iversen kindly paid a special visit to it on their way to 'Amārah, and recopied and collated the texts as given above (fig. 1). The owner of the tomb, *sn* Dhuthotpe called *sn* Paitsi, and his father *sn* Ruiui were both princes of Serra, here written *sn*; the style points to the middle of the

Eighteenth Dynasty, and the feminine in  on the lintel strongly suggests Hatshepsut. This Dḥuṯḥotpe is evidently the same person as the owner of a stela found by Professor Griffith in the village of Serra East a few miles farther north, where he is described as the Scribe of the South 'P-atsi', or Dḥuṯḥotpe, son of Ruiu, chief of Teḥekhti, and Rena (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 8, 99, pl. 29, 2). A statue of a scribe Amenemḥēt, presumably his brother, with the same parents, was found at Buhen (Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, pl. 37 and p. 110), and is now in the Khartūm Museum, No. 92. Finally, on a block found at the same time as the stela, and now also in the Khartūm Museum, No. 3739, is the figure of a [chief? of Te]ḥekhti Dḥout, associated with the worship of  Menkheperrē the great god in Teḥekhti, identified as the site now known as East Serra (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 8, 99-100, pl. 29, 4). But when the block and the stela were re-examined recently at Khartūm, it was found that the sign given as  in the publications is really a plain circle  as in the Dibeira text; the variants of the name are therefore  (Dibeira tomb),  (Serra block), and  (Buhen statue). I have not been able to find any other examples of this place-name, but in an inscription in the tomb of Pennē, *temp.* Ramesses VI, at Aniba, we find a region on the east bank of the Nile near Aniba described as  (Leps., *Denkm.* III, 229 c, ll. 9-10; Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, pl. 101; cf. p. 243), and it is tempting to connect this with Serra. Is it possible that the  is an alternative reading for  or  with the phonetic value of *nt* or *nwt*? Professor Fairman tells me that in a stela of the time of Ramesses III at 'Amārah, the name of Pesiūr's father Pennē is written , which would seem to support this theory, and it is rather unlikely that there would be two different places with such similar names in the same district. I suggest tentatively that the name of Serra should be read Teḥnut rather than Teḥekhti.



1. Khartūm 5162, from Serra West



2. Khartūm 5261, from Serra West



3. Khartūm 3725, from G. Dabarōsah



4. Khartūm 3732, Lintel from Argin

FOUR MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS

By M. F. LAMING MACADAM

THE four Meroitic inscriptions published together in the present note are in the museum at Khartūm. The first three were originally meant for inclusion in an article for this *Journal* by Mr. A. J. Arkell, recently retired from the post of Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, and I am grateful to him for having, when he decided to recast the form of his article, permitted me to publish them instead, and for supplying me with photographs and details of provenance. The last item was noted at Khartūm by Miss R. L. B. Moss, who kindly called my attention to it, and all the inscriptions come from sites just north of Wādi Ḥalfa. For permission to include this I should like to thank the present Commissioner for Archaeology, Mr. P. L. Shinnie, who also supplied the photograph. The texts here given are in my handwriting: they are not facsimiles.

1. Stela Khartūm 5162 (Pl. XI, 1)

Upper half of a Meroitic funerary stela of white sandstone, said to have been found at Serra West, 2 metres from the boundary of *sāḳiyah* No. 122, and 10 metres north of the north-west corner of house No. 375. The stela is partially cut away, leaving a flat, unmodelled figure of a man, on which the ears, breast, and tunic have been roughly indicated by incised lines. The upper part of the stone contains five lines of cursive Meroitic of late style.

: 113ω: 344 159ω92 113¹
 : 149ω2: 4446: 14153: 111²ω192
 141591391³ 11⁴ 14
 4963 92141592: 44144118796 3433
 14⁵: 3679111

No. 1

'The revered Aretebikar, *abrs mtele*, the *hbi*, the *drp* in Pat.. beqe (?). May the great and beneficent (?) god ever grant to him abundant offerings.'

Line 1. The writer has transposed the signs :ω. *Abrs* is a title applied to Akinidad in his stela (*JEA* 4, 159 ff.), ll. 4, 8, 14, again in *Mer. Inscr.* No. 92, l. 6, and to Tañyidamani in his Gebel Barkal stela (Boston 23,736, ll. 4-5, from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. Dows Dunham).

'The revered Lapakhidaye, patronized by the prince in Meroe, begotten of ...r, patronized by Naya...ri in ...khē (?), wife of the great *pre* of Amani (?) K...bēkeñaye, sister of ...ñ...kh (?) the King's Son in Atēkhe, patronized by Shapari (?), of the strategus of the water (?) The *mlē*.'

Meroitic funerary stela of white sandstone found in March, 1947, apparently from the same site (Griffith records the discovery of Meroitic remains in rock-cut shaft graves of the New Kingdom at Serra West, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 13, 18). The stela has the figure of a standing woman in relief, wearing a skirt, coloured red above the waist. The base is 1 ft. wide and the stela 1 ft. 5½ in. high. On either side of the figure are 13 lines of cursive Meroitic, of late style and difficult to make out.

Line 4. Apart from the usual expressions of filiation on the father's and the mother's side there is commonly a third relationship signalized by *yetmdelē*. This, if it is a family relationship at all, is not a close one, for if so it should be deducible from the numerous partially interlocking genealogies which can be constructed from the funerary inscriptions of Shablūl and Karanog. Accordingly, Griffith used to translate it 'kin of' or 'related to'. With the root *mde* one may compare *mde-s*, a word commonly appended to the names of deities to express a relationship between these and the person to whom the epithet refers. Thus on the columns of the temples of Naga and Amara (*Mer. Inscr.* I, pl. 23; II, pl. 6) King Natakamani and his family are variously called *mde-s-l* with respect to Amani, Ariteñ (the Sun), and the god Makedeke. Zyhlarz (op. cit. 436) has postulated the existence of a suffixed *s* which refers backwards, and which is perhaps the same as the suffixed *s* used in Meroitic as one method of expressing possession. Thus *Amni mde-s-l*, *Ariteñ-l mde-s-l*, *Mkedeke-l mde-s-l*, may be taken to mean 'the one who has Amani, the Sun, or Makedeke respectively as *mde*'. The same notion seems to be expressed by *ye-t-mde-lē*, the latter being applied in funerary inscriptions to deceased persons with respect to mortals of high rank and importance. The idea of patronage comes immediately to mind. Whether Zyhlarz is right in following up his idea by connecting *mde* with the Nubian ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ 'servant, service' (*Griffith Studies*, 195) is not yet clear, but I feel sure that 'patronized by' is the best attempt to translate *ye-t-mde-lē* that has up till now been produced.

Line 10. *Premnth*, perhaps 'great *pre* of Amani', nearly similar to *wēmnith* 'great *wē* of Amani' in *Karanog*, Nos. 47, 72, 75. However, in one of the photographs which I have used the word looks like ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲧⲙⲏ *premn-lh* 'great *premn*'.

Line 13. For *smlē* 'wife' see Griffith in *Karanog*, 68.

Line 15. *Pestē*, var. *peštē*, like *pqr* (l. 2), is a princely title. A certain Abratoye, apparently the son of King Teqērideamani, is one holder of the title, and this appears in the Meroitic inscriptions (*Karanog*, Nos. 51, 52) in which he is mentioned. It has been pointed out by Griffith (*Mer. Inscr.* II, 47, n. 5; *Dodecaschoenus*, I, 118) that in Leps., *Denkm.* VI, 91, Gk. 317 this title is rendered $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma \text{Αἰθιοπῶν}$; but since in the demotic graffito Philae 416, l. 15, this same Abratoye is called 'the King's son' it is worth considering whether *pestē* can be a Meroitic corruption of the Egyptian ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲉ . This I think is highly probable. In the first place let it be remembered that

sꜥ nsw, more exactly *sꜥ nsw n Kꜥš*, was a title conferred in ancient times on the Egyptian viceroy of Nubia as a special mark of favour. To Egyptians in Nubia the viceroy would have been simply *pꜥ sꜥ nsw*, pronounced, as can be fairly established from cuneiform transcriptions of these words separately in other contexts, *psiinsi* or *psiensi*. The Greek transcription *Σιονσιος* (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64, 135 f.) does not render the argument invalid, for *o* in Greek transcriptions is a vowel of very indefinite colouring. That *ψεντης* should transcribe the Meroitic *pestē* may perhaps require a little explanation. Meroitic seems to nasalize its vowels before dental and guttural consonants (Zyhlarz, op. cit. 418) in certain circumstances, and in such cases writes no *n*. Thus the Meroitic equivalent of *Ἀρενδωτης* becomes *Arette*, i.e. Are(n)dōte, while *Κανδακη* transcribes *ktke*, *kdke*. In the former case the omission from the Meroitic of any indication of the accented vowel (to which the Greek falsely gives the value *ω*) will be noted. It is thus quite in order to assume for *pestē* some such pronunciation as *pese(n)tē* and to postulate its equivalence to *ψεντης*. The addition in the Greek text of the words *βασιλεως Αἰθιοπων* very strongly suggests that *ψεντης* means *pꜥ sꜥ nsw* 'the Son of the King'; the only real difficulty is to account for the change of *s* to *t*. Without the explanation of this the conjecture must remain unproven, but it may quite possibly be forthcoming from some as yet unformulated rule of Meroitic *Lautehre*.

It may be added that the existence of local *pestēs* (e.g. in Akiñ in *Karanog*, Nos. 47, 77) does not detract from the probability of the equivalence of *pestē*, *ψεντης*, and *pꜥ sꜥ nsw*. In the times of Egyptian dominion over Nubia the title was not meant to be taken literally, and we should perhaps be over-hasty if we assumed that the Meroitic title necessarily implied royalty.

Line 18. For *kdislē* > *kditē* 'sister' see Griffith, *Karanog*, 66.

Line 26. For *mlēlē*, of uncertain meaning, but especially common at the end of funerary inscriptions see Griffith, op. cit. 41. It is usually preceded by the terminal formulas ABC, but I am unable to discern them here.

3. Stela Kharṭūm 3725 (Pl. XI, 3)

:44116013:4316¹
 :43113:011 33:2 4 441113²
 :1496 215:443434³
 :149 34015:9414319 4⁴
 :14143:41591391 13:4 42 3:4151292⁵
 :14<923>4911:4131193⁶
 :159 361411:963 292⁷:159432:963 492⁸

'Isis! Osiris! The revered Qēyi...i...ñmakas, born of ...ikhlahkil, begotten of ...etashibale, mother of the envoy Kadi...l in Q...beqe, patronized by the *mesn*.' Formula AB.

Thick, round-topped, sandstone stela, found at Gebel Dabarōsah by the army when making a road in August 1941. Nine lines of incised cursive Meroitic, of late style, below a roughly cut disk and uraei.

Line 2. All the recorded holders of names ending in *mk-s* of whom the sex is known are women.

Line 5. One expects the holders of names beginning *Kdi* to be women. Probably we have here a female envoy such as Zyhlarz (op. cit. 435) supposes to be the author of *Mer. Inscr.* No. 121.

Line 7. For *štelē* 'mother' see Griffith, *Karanog*, 68. 'Mesn of Amani' is a title in *Karanog*, No. 105.

4. Kharṭūm 3732 (Pl. XI, 4)

Half of a Meroitic sandstone lintel from Argīn, showing one side of a winged disk with uraeus, and inscribed with a funerary text in five lines of cursive Middle Meroitic. Various considerations indicate that the text is only half complete and that it formerly continued for the whole length of the lintel.

[Name & titles of deceased. About 15 letters.] : 44 5 B 2 4 11 2 7 9 13 : 3 1 6¹
 [4 6] 1 4 5 2 4 10 15 : 5 3 1 3 1 5 9 3 7 : 4 6 1 1 3²
 : 5 2 11 2 : 4 6 [1 4 9 6 2 15 : Mother's name. About 13 letters.]
 [4 6 4 3 3 : 5 2] 11 2 : 4 6 4 4 5 2 [2] 15
 4 4 1 5 1 2 5 2 4 6 1 4 [5 2 3 4 5 11 : Patron's name. About 7 letters.]
 : 1 5 2 5 [3 1 3 2 : 5 3 3 : 4 5 2 : 4 6 1 4] 5 2 4 6
 [:] 1 5 2 6 1 4 3 2 : 5 3 3 7 [5] 2

No. 4

'Isis the beneficent (?)! The revered [name and title(s)], begotten of Tametemēme, born of [mother's name], *dske* of the west (?), *ds[ke of Mash (?)]*, patronized by [patron's name or title], the *wide* of the envoy.' Formula AB.

Line 1. *Qe-tñyiñ-ge-li*, see No. 1, l. 3. The second *qe*, absent in No. 1, appears also in *Mer. Inscr.* No. 133, *Karanog*, No. 76, and *Faras* (*Recueil Champollion*, 570), No. 4.

Line 3. *Dske* is a title in *Karanog*, Nos. 9, 37, 94b, 103. Since three of these instances are 'of Mash' (Bes?) it is perhaps this word that follows *ds[ke]* later in the line. For *teñke* 'west' see *Mer. Inscr.* II, 12.

NOTES ON THE INSTRUCTION TO KAGEMNI AND HIS BRETHREN

By WALTER FEDERN

SIR ALAN GARDINER's republication and translation of the *Instruction to Kagemni and his brethren* in vol. 32 of this *Journal* have once again drawn attention to this difficult text. With his general interpretation I find myself in entire agreement, but offer the following notes as a further contribution to the problem.

I, 1. *Sndw*; Gardiner's translation 'submissive' in Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmirêr*, 88, seems preferable to 'timid'. The laudatory epithet of a nomarch, *swdꜥ sndw*,¹ suggests that a superior to whom the *sndw* owes his prosperity was mentioned before the line first preserved. *Wn hn n gr*; according to Sethe,² 'Open is the tent for (not "of") the silent', i.e. he is received as a friend.

I, 2. For *wsh st*³ cf. *Pt.* 225. The sense seems to be 'He is influential'.

I, 3. *Thi mtn* is the counterpart of *mdd mtn*.⁴ In the latter expression, the way of someone else, not the subject's own way, is referred to; the same should be true for *thi mtn*.⁵ 'Refractory' seems the best translation. I would render the whole sentence literally as follows: 'Talk not! Ready are knives against the refractory, without proceeding, except for his fault', i.e. they always lie in wait for him, but strike only when he commits himself.

I, 6-7. *Tr* in l. 7 means, in my opinion, the time allotted for a course of the meal. The temporal clause *sw tr* may close, not open a sentence. The *šdm·n·f* form of *smh* may have had present meaning, like that of *rh* and *sh*,⁶ and, it seems, *hm*.⁷ 'Wretched is he who is greedy for his belly when the (allotted) time has passed. He forgets those . . .', etc. Retarding the orderly winding up of the meal, the glutton shows lack of consideration for his hosts—evidently a major social offence.

I, 7-9. *hḥf* seems to denote the condition of body and mind after much eating.⁸ The two pieces of advice run in the same direction; seeing a companion eat will stimulate the appetite of a glutton, and seeing a companion drink will please a drunkard. 'If you sit with a glutton,⁹ eat, and his surfeit will have passed. If you drink with a drunkard, accept, and he will feel satisfied.'

¹ *Urk.* VII, 17, 19 = Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, II Dq.

² *Komm. Pyr.* III, 126 (ad § 607b).

³ *Wb.* I, 364, 12.

⁴ *Wb.* II, 176, 6; cf. Janssen, op. cit. II, Bc; II, 104-5.

⁵ The meaning 'the right way' assigned to *mtn* in our passage by *Wb.* II, 176, 5 is insufficiently supported by the references there given; in *Brit. Mus.* 572, 13, *šms hr mtn nn dnb*, the force of *šms* marks the 'way' as primarily that of someone else who leads, and makes it 'the right way' only by implication.

⁶ Cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 414, 4.

⁷ Cf. Erman, *Äg. Gramm.* (4th ed.), § 303, n. 2; Lefebvre, *Gramm. Ég. class.*, § 482, Obs.

⁸ Cf. the late word *hḥf* 'to fill with, be swelled with', Brugsch, *Dict.*, *Suppl.* 905; cf. *hḥf*, id., *Dict.* 1078; *Suppl.* 916; *hḥf* 'meal', *Wb.* III, 271, 11-12.

⁹ Who is not necessarily stingy, as the interpretation 'Eat only when his appetite is past' would imply.

I, 9-10. *M 3dw r twf r-gs skn* seems to me advice not to speak out in aggressive manner against the eating of meat when in the presence of a gourmand. It may be presumed that in Egypt, as in other ancient civilizations, eating of meat was restricted by religious considerations. 'Accept when¹ he gives to you. Reject it not (sc. meat).' Compare the story of the Coptic monk Paphnutius, who converted a robber by drinking the repulsive wine to satisfy that sinner's whim.² For the lack of an object after *ssft* an exact parallel exists in *Sh. S. 20-1*, *swrd pw dd n-k*.

I, 10. The 48 passages with *šw m* in Janssen, op. cit. VI J, show that in the language of the M.K. the lack of an evil activity or bad habit was denoted in this manner, not freedom from subjection to the adverse actions of others.³ *Srh* 'reproach', therefore, should be taken here in an active sense,⁴ 'He who is free from the habit of reproaching on account of food, no word can prevail over him'. Not the words of other people are meant, but the words that rise up in him but are left unspoken. He who has learned to repress his desires (ll. 3-7), his aversions (ll. 7-9), even his sense of propriety (ll. 9-10), in the matter of food (where feeling is most elementary), will retain self-control *always*.

I, 11. *Hrr* need not be emended into *htr*, in view of the possibility⁵ that Sethe⁶ was right in distinguishing the word $\overline{\text{H}}$ (Wb. II, 438, 4. 5) from $\overline{\text{H}}$ (Wb. V, 313-16), and in view of the use of $\{$ as a phonetic determinative (*ri*)—perhaps to be discounted, as a secondary N.K. development, in *pri*,⁷ *nri*,⁷ and *ti-mri*,⁷ but sufficiently attested for the M.K. in certain personal names.⁸ *Htr* would be a hapax legomenon; *hrr*, though of unknown meaning, is not; it occurs in the form *hrrr* in the Pyramid Texts⁹ and in the Book of the Dead,¹⁰ where it denotes a quality that can be attributed to a calf. Grammatically *hrr* is probably Old Perfective, attached to the preceding *im-f*. *N-hr-r* 'onward to' may be compared with *dr-r* 'right down to', Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* § 179. *Df-i*, which cannot be separated from *wdf* 'to lag, delay' (Wb. I, 388), is the counterpart to *h-i* 'to be quick-witted', a quality warned against in *Peas. B 1*, 212; *df-i* 'slow-wittedness', therefore, could be a *good* quality. The resulting translation 'meek (?) to the degree of slow-wittedness' may be more than a mere guess.

I, 11-12. *Im n* 'pleasant to' seems in the language of the M.K. to mean only 'dear to'; there is no evidence for its meaning 'kind to'¹¹ like *im-ib*. *Im n-f khs r mwt-f*,

¹ The form *di-f*, so far from needing to be emended into the participial *dit-f*, may be significant, 'when he gives you . . .', regardless of the propriety of the invitation.

² Zoega, *Cat.* 308-9 = Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.* (2nd ed.), p. 9*.

³ Janssen's translation of his No. 4, *šw m kt* (Hatanub. x, 10-11) as 'free from being hated' (II, 205-6) does not seem necessitated by the two parallels referred to, viz. Cairo 583, 5, *hrrw hr trt-n-f nbt nm kt-f hr wnyw*, and *Pt. 244*, *di-f kt-f m st mwt-f*; for *kt* in *kt-f* 'the dislike for him, inspired by him', is no more intrinsically passive than *mwt* in the *mwt-f* of the *Ptahhotep* passage.

⁴ 'Reproach(ing)' seems the right rendering of *srh* likewise in *Siut*, III, 42 (Janssen, op. cit. VI G 9), *nm srh hkr* 'there was no reproach of (by) a hungry one' (cf. *Pyr.* 386 a.b, *n srhw rnh ir* □ etc.) and *Brit. Mus.* 1671, 5 (Janssen, op. cit., VI D 26), *n srh-i rtw* 'I did not reproach the great ones'.

⁵ Doubt by Gardiner, op. cit., p. 469, M 6, 1.

⁶ *Komm. Pyr.* III, 141 (ad § 553b); 197 (ad § 649c).

⁷ *Wb.* I, 532, 1; II, 279, 11-14; V, 223.

⁸ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 82, 21; 293, 17; 308, 23; 397, 21.

⁹ *Spr.* 218, § 161a ff.

¹⁰ *Ch.* 109, 11; *ZÄS* 59, 19. 37* (21).

¹¹ The two earlier references of *Wb.* I, 79, 11 for the latter meaning do not prove it; they are *im-n-i n mwt-i* 'I was dear to my mother', *Rue de Tomb.* 11 = *Urk.* I, 199, 6 = Janssen, op. cit. I E 1; *im-n-i n Shyt-Hr* 'I was

therefore, probably is to be rendered 'Dearer to him is one who is harsh (or "who scolds")¹ than his mother'. This is another sign of self-control.

II, 1. The meaning of *rw-ib* 'high-minded'² seems to be 'proud' in the sense of 'self-confident'³ (cf. Greek *ὑψηλοφρονεῖν* in Ep. Rom. 11, 20 and II Tim. 6, 17). *Hpš* had the connotation of 'success', cf. Polotsky, *Inscr. d. II. Dyn.* 43 ff.; *JEA* 16, 196, 5.

II, 2. The true meaning of the verb *itn* seems to have been 'to be discontented'.⁴ *Itnw* (*Wb.* 1, 146, 1-3) means: "'discontented" passages', i.e. 'difficult passages, unsatisfactorily explained by earlier interpretations.'

dear to the Cow-Goddess', *Siût*, v, 13 = Brunner, *Texte*, 66, 13. Note also the passive character of the noun *imt* in *nb imt*, Janssen, op. cit. IV Ac 2-7; II, 177.

¹ Cf. Suys, *Fellah Plaidier*, 133, ad *Paheri*, pl. 3. The translation 'to chide' or 'to scold' fits all passages in which *kšs* occurs. *Peas.* B1, 213-14, *m kšsw hft wsr-k tm spr bto-dto n-k* (a passage that has never been rightly understood) warns the hearer not to scold a complainant in order to avoid hearing something bad, but to listen to the end (cf. the stela of Mentuhotpe, 11-12 = Janssen, op. cit. II Bq 1).

² Cf. Janssen, op. cit. II, 21; he interprets it, however, as 'cheerful'.

³ Not only in *Pt.* 52, *m rw ib-k hr rh-k*, but likewise in *Pt.* 178-9, *im-k rw ib-k r-f hr rht-n-k im-f hntw*, if interpreted as advice to the underling not to feel confident of success merely because he knows that his master and model once started in as low an estate as his own is now. For *rw-ib*, too, the rendering 'self-confident' always gives good results.

⁴ For the evidence, cf. Gardiner in *Rec. trav.* 33, 89, ad *Sin.* B 184.

THE THIRD DISTRICT IN TUTHMOSIS III'S LIST OF PALESTINO-SYRIAN TOWNS

By S. YEIVIN

A VERY large literature has grown up round the various lists of Palestino-Syrian localities engraved by the orders of Egyptian Pharaohs on different monuments erected by them, beginning with Tuthmosis III and ending with Sheshonk I.¹

Noth in his analytical and comparative discussion arrives at the conclusion that it is impossible to find in these lists any traces of territorial divisions, since as he puts it 'Namen aus nachweislich derselben "Gegend" an sehr weit voneinander getrennten Stellen ein und derselben Liste auftreten können'.² The last statement seems quite correct at first view; however, such inconsistencies should have led scholars either to a reconsideration of the identifications proposed, or to a revision of their ideas about the territorial divisions of the area under discussion.

The author hopes to prove soon in a separate study the system of territorial divisions underlying Tuthmosis III's shorter list (119 localities) of Palestino-Syrian towns as a whole, but this note has a much more limited purpose, to discuss only one of the medium territorial units included in that list, namely, the third district, comprising Nos. 31-49.³

However, some general introductory remarks cannot be avoided. On a detailed analysis of the whole list it becomes quite clear that it includes what was to be later known as the Egyptian province of Canaan stretching from Wādī-l-'Ariš in the south probably to the frontiers of the Syrian kingdom of Ḥamath (*El-Hammeh*) in the north inland, but apparently excluding the Phoenician coast from (north of) Acre northward, which formed part of another Egyptian province, *Djhy*.⁴ It becomes equally obvious that the Egyptian territorial divisions of their newly acquired Asianic empire were based on political units found by them in the conquered territory. The Palestino-Syrian part of the Hyksos empire, based on a quasi-feudal system,⁵ was apparently headed by the ruler of Ḳadesh on Orontes (*Tell Neby Mind*)⁶ as the most important subject-prince of the Hither-Asianic portion of the Empire. Under him came smaller units, which later became Egyptian provinces; thus the province of *Pḥ kn'n* (Canaan) was originally, it seems, the vassal kingdom of Megiddo. Hence, we find Tuthmosis III's shorter list headed by the names Ḳadesh, the most important subject-state, and Megiddo, the centre of the vassal kingdom next to it in rank. This kingdom in its turn

¹ The latest collection of these monuments in J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*, Leiden, 1937; the latest analytical discussions in M. Noth, *Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien*, ZDPV 60, 183 ff.; 61, 26 ff., 277 ff.

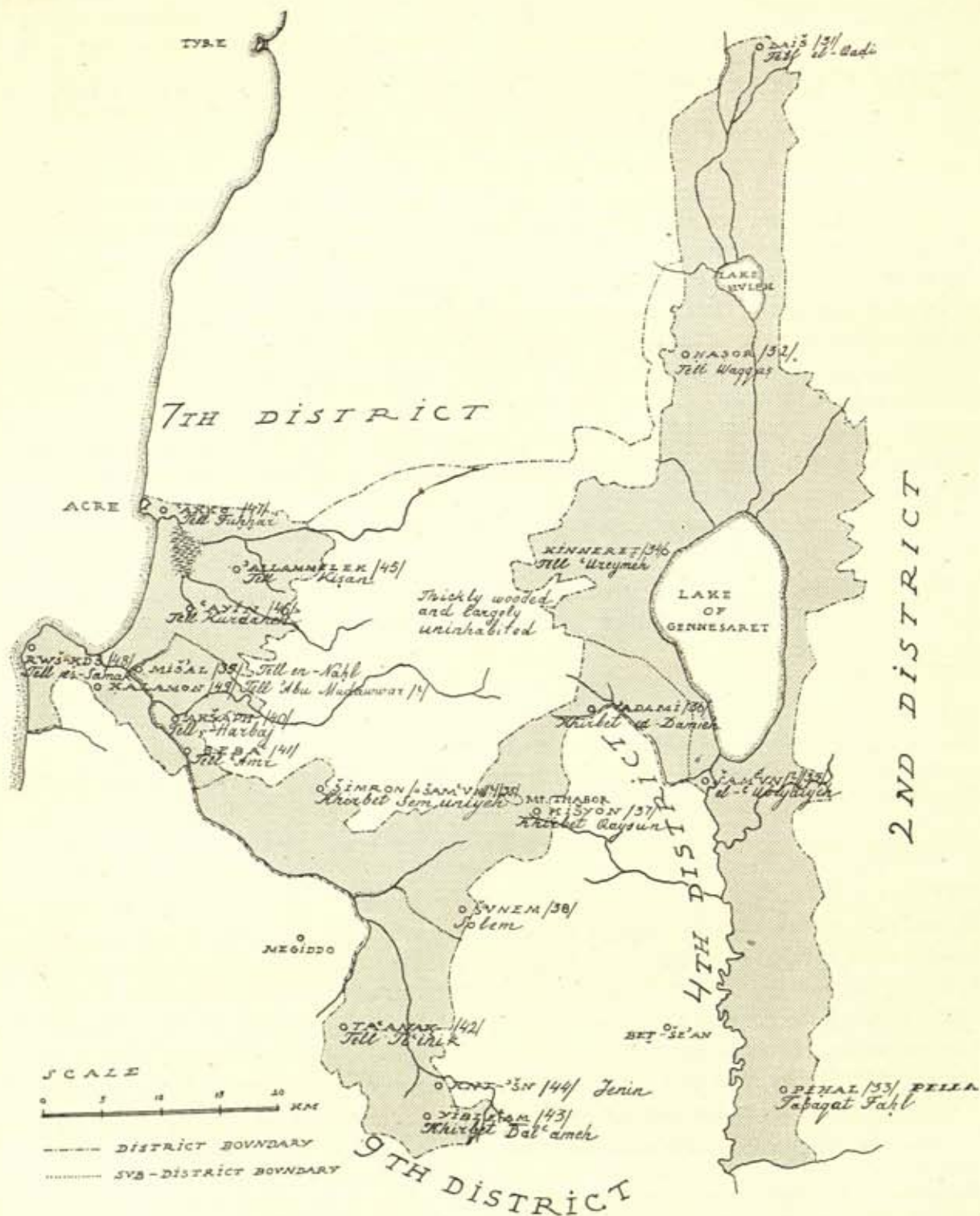
² Noth, op. cit., 192.

³ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 782 f.

⁴ On the possible interpretation of this term as *Paralia*, sea-shore province, based on the Hurrian *ṣey* (= water, stream), see my article on *The Sepulchres of the Kings of the House of David*, JNES 7, 41. I thus take a rather different view of the extent of Djahy from Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 145* f.

⁵ See, for example, K. v. Gallinger, BRL, s.v. *Hyksos*.

⁶ Pézard, *Qadesh*, p. 27.



Map of Tuthmosis III's 'Third District' of Palestine-Syria.

was divided into several districts, some of which may not appear in the list, either because they were not conquered by force of arms or because they did not take part in the confederacy which originally decided to oppose the Egyptian invasion, or some other reason. The districts in their turn seem to have been divided into sub-districts, each containing a number of towns, every one of which was the seat of a minor vassal, a *wr* (a 'great one') in the Egyptian terminology.¹

In the shorter list itself we find that the first district, comprising Nos. 3-12, apparently includes Syro-Lebanese territories, for such names as can be definitely identified in it are in the inland Baḳ'ah. Such are *Dbḥw* (No. 6), which is most probably the Biblical טבה or טבחת;² *Rḥ-bḥ-n* (No. 10), most probably Biblical לבוא, in the form in which it appears in the El-'Amārnah letters, later by less than one hundred years than the list.³ The second district (Nos. 13-30) includes the anti-Lebanon, the Damascene, and Transjordan; *Ty-ms-s-q-w* (No. 13) — דמשק; *Hm-m-t-w* (No. 16) most probably El-Ḥammeh, c. 10 km. north of Damascus, on the way to Bērūt;⁴ *Bḥ-rw-t-w* (No. 19), which seems to be the Biblical ברת;⁵ and then a long list of names associated with the northern part of the Transjordanian plateau (including the Bashan, Gaulan, and Hauran). It includes Nos. 20 (21?)–30.⁶

We now come to the third district, which comprises Nos. 31-49 of the list, in the following order:

31. *Rḥ-w-y-s* (rawisa) = ריש.⁷

¹ This term seems to correspond to the Akkadian-Cuneiform political term *'awēlu*, the man-ruler of a town, a city-state, very prominent already in the Mari documents (see, for example, G. Dossin, *Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari*, in *Syria*, 19, 117–1. 25 of document. The author owes this parallelism to the courtesy of Dr. B. Maisler), and occasionally also in the EA correspondence, less than a century later than the list in question. It is quite probable that this term (*wr*) gave rise, by a process of 'degeneration' and scaling down—so common in titles and official functions, to the later Hebrew term אִישׁ גָּדוֹל (2 Kings 5, 1; Job 1, 3), אִשָּׁה גָּדוֹלָה (2 Kings 4, 8). It should be noted that Tuthmosis III's longer list originally contained about 400 names of towns, while the Gebel Barkal stela speaks of 330 chieftains who took part in the battle of Megiddo (Yeivin, *JPOS* 14, 194 ff.; more especially p. 201).

² 2 Sam. 8, 8; 1 Chron. 18, 8. Albright, *ARI* 212, identifies it with modern Ba'albek. This identification, however, raises many difficulties.

³ Maisler has lately published a very detailed study on the problem of Lebō'-Ḥammaṭ, in which he supports the conclusion that it is a separate place-name, to be identified with modern لب in the n. Baḳ'ah. He then rightly identified it with *Rwb'* (E 31) of Posener's execration texts, *lab/pana* of the EA letters (Nos. 53-4) and *Rḥw*-in-the-Forest of Amenophis II's stela, mentioned also by Rameses II. He did not, however, notice this possible identification (Maisler, *BJPES* 12, 91 ff.; and more especially pp. 100-2). The problem of the province of Canaan is also discussed in that article.

⁴ Nothing is so far known of the archaeology of this place and its immediate vicinity. R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, 291, mentions the place, but does not say anything about its connexions with antiquity.

⁵ Mentioned together with טבה (2 Sam. 8, 8) as a city of Hadadezer king of Ṣoba, from which King David took much copper. Possibly *Bereytān*, south of Ba'albek; see Abel, *Géographie*, II, 7. This seems to be identical with ברוקה mentioned in Ezekiel's description (Ez. 47, 16) of the northern boundary of Palestine, and associated there with *Ḥammaṭ* and *Sihrayim*. This association, however, raises some doubts about the probability of Abel's suggested identification.

⁶ For a detailed discussion and identification see B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas*, 1930, 43 ff. and *JPOS* 9, 80 ff. (Nos. 21-30); see also Abel, op. cit. II, 8 f.

⁷ Jud. 18, 4 ff. Later renamed *Dān* by the Danites (ibid., 29), modern *Tell-i-Kādi* on the spring from which flows the Nahr Leddān, one of the three streams that join to form the Jordan. It seems rather doubtful

32. *Hw-d-r* (ḥašura) = חצור.¹
33. *P-hw-r* (pihura) = פחל.²
34. *K-n-n-r-t-w* (kunnarat) = כנרת.³
35. *Š-m-m(y)* [or: *ʿ-n*] (šam'ana) = see below.
36. *'-ty-m-m* ('tamm) = תממ.⁴
37. *K-s-sw-n* (kasuna) = קשון.⁵
38. *Š-n-m-(my)* (šunama) = שונם.⁶
39. *M-(my)-š-r* (muša'ra) = משאל.⁷
40. *'-k-s-p* ('aksp) = אקשפ.⁸
41. *K-b-ε-sw-m(y)-n* (kb'sumn) = see below.
42. *T-ε-n-n-k* (ta'anaka) = תענך.⁹
43. *'y-b-r-ε-mw* (yabra'amu) = יברעם.¹⁰
44. *K-n-t-w-s-n* (kntu'asna) = see below.
45. *R-t-m(y)-r-k* (rtimaraka) = רתמרק.¹¹
46. *ε-ε-y-n* ('ayana) = see below.

to the author whether the place named in the execration texts (E 59) as 'wsy can be interpreted as a transcription of ושי, as suggested by G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, 92, and accepted by Maisler, *Bull. des ét. hist. juives*, 1 (Cairo, 1946), 62. The transcriptions quoted in brackets are made in accordance with the rules suggested by Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*.

¹ Jos. 11, 1; Jud. 4, 2 and elsewhere. Modern Tell Waḫḫās (Tell-l-Ḳaḏāḥ); see J. Garstang, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 14, 35 ff. The place is also mentioned in the execration texts (E 15); see Posener, op. cit., 73 and Maisler, op. cit., 50.

² Modern Ṭabaḳāt Faḥl. The place is not mentioned in the Bible, but plays a part in the EA correspondence (letter No. 265). It is also mentioned in the execration texts (E 8); see Posener, op. cit., 68-9 and Maisler, op. cit., 47.

³ Jos. 19, 45. Modern Tell 'Ureymeh. For the archaeological exploration of the site see W. F. Albright and A. G. Rowe, *JEA* 14, 281 ff., especially pp. 285-6.

⁴ Jos. 19, 33. Modern Ḥirbeti-d-Dāmīh. Talmudic sources already divide between 'Adāmī and Hanneḳeb (Jer. Meg. 1, 1). For the possible connexions with the Ugaritic epos of Kereth see R. de Vaux, *RB* 46, 362 ff. and *BYPES* 6, 34 ff.; 11, 3-4, 33-4. Whether the Hebrew form reflects a *status constructus* (of a plural?) as suggested by de Vaux (ibid., 36-7) or the *m* of the Egyptian form reflects a survival of *m locativum* or *m* of an old *tamyim* is a question which cannot be dealt with here in detail.

⁵ Jos. 19, 20. The equation is already established by M. Müller, *MVAG* 12, 16. Various identifications have been proposed; for the latest attempt to identify it with *El-Ḥirbeh*, or *Ḥirbet Ḳaysūn*, on the headwaters of Wādī Bīreh, see N. Zimballist, *BYPES* 13, 31 ff. One thing is quite clear, however, whatever identification is adopted Ḳiṣyōn must be located somewhere in the plain surrounding Mount Thabor on the north-east, east, and south-east.

⁶ Jos. 19, 18 and elsewhere. Modern Sōlem. Also mentioned in the EA letters (No. 250). This division explains the enmity between Shunem and Megiddo so well illustrated in EA correspondence; cf. Alt, *PfJB* 20, 35 ff.

⁷ Jos. 19, 26. According to Maisler it should be identified with *Tell-n-Nahl* in the southern part of the Plain of Acre, north-east of Haifa (see *Bull. des ét. hist. juives*, 1, 49, n. 3). The place is mentioned also in the execration texts (E 13), see Posener, op. cit., 71 f. and Maisler, op. cit., 49.

⁸ Jos. 11, 1; 19, 25. According to Maisler it must be identified with *Tell Harbaj* in the south-east corner of the Plain of Acre (near K'fār Ḥ'sidīm); see *BYPES* 6, 158. The place is mentioned also in the execration texts (E 11); see Posener, op. cit., 70 f. and Maisler, op. cit., 49.

⁹ Jos. 12, 21; Jud. 5, 19 and elsewhere. Modern Tell Ti'īnik.

¹⁰ Jos. 17, 11 and elsewhere. Modern Tell Bal'ameh. See J. Garstang, *Joshua-Judges*, 384 f.

¹¹ Jos. 19, 26 (in the territory of Asher). The place is so far unidentified, but the context of the above-mentioned verse excludes any location which is not in the Plain of Acre. The equation of the names has already been proposed by M. Müller, *MVAG* 12, 17; and see below, p. 58.

47. *ʿ-ʿ-ʿ-k* ('aka) = עֶכּוֹ.¹

48. *Rw-s-ḫd-d-š* (rusa ḫdš) = [or: קְדוֹשׁ קְדָשׁ קְדָשׁ].²

49. *K-r-y-'y-m-n-ʿ* (kriyamna) = see below.

Proceeding to analyse this short list of nineteen localities we find that the first four are all situated along the Jordan, starting with Laish in the north up to Peḥal, Hellenistic Pella, in the south, and including Kinnarōt, just above the south-west tip of the Lake of Tiberias.

Nos. 36–8, [אֲדֹמִי, קִישְׁיֹן, שֻׁנֶּם, קִישְׁיֹן] take us along the Wādī Fejjās (*Khirbetⁱ-d-Dāmīeh*) to the foot of Mount Thabor, near the head waters of the Wādī-l-Bīreh (*Hirbet Kaysūn?*), and farther south to the foot of the Lesser Hermon (*Solem*).

It seems to the author that No. 35 ought to be a place connecting the two lines mentioned above: (a) Laish, Hāṣōr, Peḥal, Kinnarōt along the upper Jordan Valley, and (b) 'Adōmī, Kīšyōn, Shunem—branching off line (a) towards the south-west. Indeed, we have such a locality in No. 35—Šamana (Šam'ana?). Looking for a likely identification on the ground we find that a short distance south of where the Wādī Fejjās falls into the Jordan there stands on a high *tell* the modern village of El-'Ubeydiyyeh ('Abeydiyyeh) guarding a ford over the Jordan on the famous Darbⁱ-l-Hawārneh, the highway which connected the Hauran, up the Wādī Fejjās, with Acre.

It seems likely that the *tell* of El-'Ubeydiyyeh covers the remains of ancient Šam'ana of Tuthmosis III's list. It should be noted that this Šam'ana is probably identical with the *Šmwⁿw* (E 55) of Posener's execration texts.³ The latter contain quite a large proportion of settlements located in the Jordan Valley.⁴

It is true that Saarisalo⁵ does not mention among the sherds he found during his examination of the *tell* of El-'Ubeydiyyeh anything earlier than LB, but he himself

¹ Jud. 1, 31. Modern *Tell Fuhār*; see J. Garstang, op. cit., 353 f. The place is mentioned in the execration texts (E 49); see Posener, op. cit., 87 f. and Maisler, op. cit., 59. The ending of the name as rendered by the execration texts may represent some dialectic peculiarity; cf. the Greek transliteration of *Acce*.

² This has been identified with *Ra'si-n-Nakūrah* or some other point on the Phoenician coast; see Noth, *ZDPV* 61, 65; also Müller, *MVAG* 12, 17. For the author's proposed identification see below, p. 59.

³ G. Posener, op. cit., 91. Since this equation seems practically certain it vindicates the transcription of version *b* of Tuthmosis III's list (definitely *Ši-m-ʿ-n*, using the proper hieroglyph D 36 of Gardiner's list to transcribe the ʿ) as against versions *a* and *c* (*Ši-m-m(y)-n-ʿ*, using hieroglyph D 38, which is commonly used as a mere iterative or alternative of the *m* proper expressed by G 17) (see Sethe, *Urk.* iv, 782). The form given in the execration texts supplies us also with the etymology of the name. *Šmwⁿw* is a theophoric name on the pattern of שְׁמֹנָה, שְׁמֹנָה (?) (though these are n. pr. p. and not n. pr. l.), compounded with the name of the god ʿn ('An), the male counterpart of Anath (already suggested by Albright). This would also explain why the name of this place did not survive in Israelite times. Its pagan association led the Israelites to change it (cf. the shift from בְּעֶלְתַּי to יְעָרִים, קִישְׁיֹן in Western Judaea). This may possibly be the Biblical לָקוֹם (Jos. 19, 33). Saarisalo's observations on the name [*The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali* (Helsinki, 1922), p. 125] seem to be unwarranted. The spelling *Šmⁿn* also disposes of the objections of M. Müller to the equation with *Simonias* (see *MVAG* 12, 11), partly supported by the author (*BJPES* 2, 1, 29), though he already stressed the presence of the deviating spelling of version *b*. Müller's objections were advanced against the equation of No. 18 of Tuthmosis III's list with *Simonias*, but the same applies to No. 35 (under discussion), since the spellings are equal but for the added determinatives in No. 18. In the case of the latter both versions *b* and *c* read *Šmⁿn* (with sign D 36 of Gardiner's list).

⁴ An analysis of the historico-topographical aspect of the execration texts published by Posener is given by B. Maisler in his above-mentioned article in *Bull. des ét. hist. juives*, 1, 33 ff.

⁵ Saarisalo, op. cit., 71 ff.

observes that his examination of the scarp of the *tell* was rather cursory, and in view of the archaeological contents of all the *tells* in this part of the Jordan Valley¹ it is very unlikely that this *tell* does not go back at least to the EB period, if not to the Chalcolithic period. If the proposed identification be correct we now have five localities in a sub-district stretching from *Laish* in the north to *Šam'ana* (?) (W. Fejjās), west of the Jordan, and *Peḥal*, east of the Jordan, in the south, comprising the broad strip of valley enclosed between the Transjordanian plateau on the east and the mountains of Galilee on the west. One wonders whether this sub-district is not to be identified with *קְנָרוֹת* mentioned in the story of the conquest, as part of the territory owing allegiance to the king of Hāšōr,² or *קְנָרוֹת* mentioned as part of *אֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי* among the areas devastated by Ben-Hadad during his invasion of Israelite territory in the days of King Baasha.³

Years ago Maisler identified this *Šam'ana* with *Semūniyyeh*.⁴ This identification, agreed to by Albright,⁵ has much to support it. Its main advantage is the continuity of references to it in Biblical and post-Biblical literature.⁶ This position can also be reconciled with the analysis given here of the third district in Tuthmosis III's list. For this purpose one has to assume that the enumeration of the cities belonging to the Kinnarōt sub-district ends with the town of Kinnarōt (No. 34), and *Šam'ana* heads the enumeration of the cities belonging to the second sub-district, giving first its westernmost town (No. 35), then its easternmost town ('Adōmī—No. 36), followed by the two intermediate settlements, Kīšyōn and Shunem (Nos. 37–8). On the other hand, the identification proposed here has the advantage of naming a site which marks the southern boundary of the sub-district of Kinnarōt on the west side of the Jordan, just as Pella marks it on the east side of the Jordan. That the neighbourhood of the Wādī Fejjās was actually the southern border of this sub-district is shown not only by the location of its second sub-district along the Wādī Fejjās westwards, but also by the fact that the fourth district discernible in Tuthmosis III's shorter list seems to comprise the territory later occupied by the tribe of Issachar (Nos. 50–8 or 50–9); and the northern boundary of that territory runs along the Wādī Fejjās.⁷ The equation with *Šamḥūna* (which supports again the reading *Šmḥn*, with a *ayin*) mentioned in the EA letters can be reconciled with both locations. For all that we know of *Šamḥūna* is that letter No. 225, written by Šum-Adda king of *Šamḥūna*, reaffirms its writer's allegiance

¹ For surveys of the Jordan Valley between the Wādī Šubbāš and Jisrī-l-Majāmi' on both banks of the river see Ruth Kalner and A. Bergman, *BJPES* VIII, 85 ff.; the triangle between the Jordan, the Yarmūk, and the lake of Gennezareth—B. Maisler, M. Stekelis, and S. Yeivin, *BJPES* 10, 98 ff., 102 ff.; 11, 3–4, 17 ff.; and for the eastern Jordan Valley south of the Yarmūk—N. Glueck, *BASOR* Nos. 91 (Oct. 1943), 7 ff.; 97 (Feb. 1945), 10 ff.; 100 (Dec. 1945), 7 ff.; 101 (Feb. 1946), 3 ff.

² Jos. 11, 2.

³ 1 Kings 15, 20. See also Yeivin, 'Ereš Kinnarōt, 15 ff.

⁴ Maisler, *BJPES* 1, 4, 1 ff.; following Albright and Alt he also equated this *Šam'ana* of Tuthmosis' list with the *Šmḥn* of the execration texts (id., *Bull. des ét. hist. juives*, 1, 60 f.).

⁵ E.g. Albright, *BASOR* No. 81 (March 1941), p. 19, n. 15.

⁶ See note 4 above; and cf. the LXX version in Jos. 19, 15, which reads *Συμωων* for *שִׁמְוֹן*, associated with the north-west part of the Plain of Ezdraelon.

⁷ Saarisalo, op. cit., 154. He actually identifies the boundary line with the high ridge separating the Wādī Fejjās from the Wādī Šerrār to the south.

and obedience to Pharaoh, and requests the sending of an Egyptian *rābiš*; another letter of the same vassal (No. 224) explains his failure to supply corn as due to the destruction of the crop (through drought?). Neither of these supplies any clue to the location of *Šamhūna*. The mention of Šum-Adda in association with Šutatna of Acre (EA No. 8) as the plunderer of a Babylonian caravan passing through *Hinnatūni* (Hannātōn) in Canaan may be due to accidentally similar names. But even if we assume the identity of the two Šum-Adda's this association of the ruler controlling the entrance to the Wādī Fejjās, who would know of every caravan entering this part of the route, with the ruler of Acre, at the terminal of the route, would be just as likely as the association of the two closer neighbours if we assume the identification of Šam'ana with Simonias-Šimrōn.

The second sub-district, already outlined above by the mention of the three localities Nos. 36–8, comprises apparently the fertile valleys lying among the mountains of lower Galilee in the east, the Sahl¹-l-'Aḥmā and the plain around the north-east, east, and south-east foot of Mount Thabor, as well as the northern part of the Plain of Ezdraelon.¹ If the sub-district ever had some particular name we are ignorant of it at present.

The next three names, Miš'al, 'Aḫšāf, and *Kbr Swmn*, take us to the next western part of the third district, lying in the south-eastern portion of the Acre plain. The first two are to be identified with *Tell-n-Nahl*² and *Tell Harbaj*,³ respectively. As to the last-mentioned locality it undoubtedly represents one of the numerous *Geba*'s of Palestine compounded with a second name for purposes of differentiation.⁴ In view of its association with the two preceding localities the author is inclined to identify it with *Tell 'Amr*, lying at the entrance of the gorge through which the Kīšōn emerges into the plain of Acre. This has been identified recently by Maisler as Gaba (of the Cavalry) mentioned by Josephus.⁵ It is not known how it came to lose its predicative indication of *Swmn*, nor is the exact connotation of the latter known. It may possibly be a transcription of שֶׁמֶן, alluding to the olive oil, for which the whole of Galilee was so famous in later days.⁶

¹ See below, p. 60.

² See p. 54, n. 7.

³ See p. 54, n. 8.

⁴ Cf. *גִּבְעַת בְּנֵימִן* (Jos. 19, 45), *גִּבְעַת חֶפְרָה* (Jos. 19, 13), *גִּבְעַת בְּנֵימִן* (1 Sam. 13, 15), and the like.

⁵ The history of this town and its localization have been discussed in great detail by B. Maisler, *BṭPES* 11, 3–4, 35 ff. He, however, identifies it with *Gbr*, No. 114 of Tuthmosis' list. This identification is unlikely because of the other localities mentioned with it (Nos. 109–19). A detailed analysis of this group of names and their identifications and localizations (mainly in the Valley of Beth-She'an and the south-west part of the Plain of Ezdraelon) will be given in the author's forthcoming detailed study of the whole list. Maisler, with whom this article has been discussed, accepts now the identification proposed here.

⁶ Cf. Deut. 33, 24 describing the domain of Asher (in which this territory was to be later included). In later times the whole of Galilee was renowned for its olive oil; see S. Klein, *ארץ הגליל*, p. 143 (quoting post-Biblical sources). Note that the map of Carmel in E. v. Muelinen, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Karmels* (ZDPV 31, foll. p. 258), shows near Tell Harbaj, between it and Tell 'Amr, a very small mound (in the plain) marked as Tell¹-s-Semen. The author dismisses it with half a line, '... Harbadsch, neben dem der kleine Tell es-Semen sich befindet' (p. 121). Abel, *Geographie*, II, 13, thinks of a possible identification with *Kbr Swmn*; this, however, is out of the question, since the site represents only a late (Byzantine) settlement (Dr. Maisler, orally). The mound is not marked on some recent maps, nor is it in the latest list of archaeological sites published by the Dept. of Antiquities [*Palestine Gazette*, No. 1375 (24 Nov. 1944), Suppl. 2, 1219 ff.]. Nevertheless, the name seems to point to a survival of the old predicative indication *Swmn* in the neighbourhood.

The fourth sub-district, comprising three names, namely, Taanach (No. 42), Ibleam (No. 43), and *Knt'snr* (No. 44), encompasses the south-east corner of the Plain of Ezdraelon, at the headwaters of the *Ḳīšōn*, contiguous with the second sub-district on the south-east, just as the third is contiguous with it on the south-west. The first-mentioned two localities, marking most probably the north-west and south-east limits of the sub-district respectively, have been identified long ago.¹ The third-named town presents, however, some difficulties.

It is not mentioned in the Bible, but its name occurs in the EA letters (EA 319, 5) as *Gintiašna*.² Two more place-names are mentioned in the same vicinity in connexion with the former name, namely, *Ginti Padalla* and *Gina*. *Gina* is most probably to be identified with the post-Biblical גִּינָה (= Γυνή), which is the Biblical Beth-Haggan, modern Jenīn.³ It seems to the author that the first and third names refer to one and the same place.⁴ This may be due to an original bipartite (or tripartite) division of the locality, analogous to those proved by Maisler to have existed in some Palestinian and Syrian settlements.⁵ It is possible that at the time of the Egyptian conquest the principal settlement, the seat of the local feudal chieftain, was *Ginti-Ašna*, and that therefore the locality appears under this name in Tuthmosis III's list. Later, another of the component settlements, namely *Gina*, rose to power, and its headman was made the local feudal lord. This could have been done by the Egyptians as a result of the untrustworthiness of the *Ginti-Ašna* chieftain,⁶ or may have been due to some other reason. In any case, with the rise of the *Gina* 'quarter', the town came to be called *Gina* = Beth Haggan, and in the course of time with the fusion of the separate 'quarters', the other name dropped out of use and was forgotten.⁷ If this assumption be correct, the third place-name in the fourth sub-district is to be identified with Jenīn in the south-east tip of the Plain of Ezdraelon, the centre of a fief embracing that part of the plain and the *ascent of Gur*, between the territories of Shunem, Taanach, and Ibleam.

The fifth and last sub-district of this district comprises five localities, Nos. 45-9.⁸

Of these only one is definitely identifiable, namely, No. 47—*Aka*, which must be the well-known port of Acre.

This takes us to the shores of the Mediterranean. It would seem, therefore, that the last sub-district of this district is also situated in the Plain of Acre, but does not include the south-east triangle formed by the third sub-district discussed above.⁹

Indeed, the first place-name in this sub-district, No. 45, has long been equated with 'Allammelek, a town in the portion of Asher.¹⁰ Some years ago Maisler rather hesitatingly suggested a possible identification with *Tell-ṣ-Ṣūbāt*.¹¹ The author would prefer to identify it in a more northerly situation with either *Tell Kīsān* or *Ḥirbet Da'ūk*.

¹ See p. 54, nn. 9 and 10.

² Knudtzon, op. cit., 1352.

³ Ibid., 1311.

⁴ Albright's recent attempt to identify *Ginti Padalla* with *Jāt* (see Albright, *BASOR* No. 104, pp. 25 f.) probably identical with *Ginti-Kirmil*, receives now new support in Grdseloff and Maisler's study of Sheshonk's list.

⁵ Maisler, *Hebron, Dinaburg Volume*, 310 ff.

⁶ Cf. EA 250, which speaks of the treachery of the chieftain of *Ginti Padalla* (Knudtzon, op. cit., 1311).

⁷ As, for example, in the case of Hebron; see Maisler, *Dinaburg Volume*, 316 ff.

⁸ See above, p. 54 and n. 11; p. 55 and nn. 1-2.

⁹ See above, p. 57.

¹⁰ See above, p. 54 and n. 11.

¹¹ Maisler, *BJPES* VI, 158.

No. 46 represents a place called something like עַן, hence obviously situated on a rather substantial spring.

The large springs in this part of the Plain of Acre are those associated with *Tell Kurdāneh*, feeding the Nahr Nu'mān and the extensive marshes on its banks. The author has little hesitation in proposing the identification of No. 46 with *Tell Kurdāneh*. It is true that Maisler has already proposed a very plausible identification of *Tell Kurdāneh* with Aphek (of Asher).¹ But such change of names need not surprise us; there is a case of a reversed change in the Sharon, where Aphek of pre-Biblical and Biblical days is known now as *Ra'si-l-'Ein*.²

No. 48—*Rusa Kdš*, which must correspond to a form like ראש קדש (or perhaps ראש קדוש)—has long ago been identified with *Ra'si-n-Naqūrah*, the bold promontory jutting out into the Mediterranean, where the present frontier divides Palestine from the Lebanon.³ It is true that so far no ancient *tell* has been reported from the neighbourhood, but on the one hand western Galilee is one of the archaeologically least-explored regions of Palestine, while on the other hand such a locality may not have been a large settlement; it may have been a small fortified place occupied by the local chieftain responsible to the ruler of the sub-district, whose centre would have probably been at Acre. Another possibility which should be considered, and is more likely, is an identification with the north-west tip of the Carmel range, to which sanctity had been attached from the earliest times. This, too, has already been proposed long ago.⁴ In this case there is at least one *tell* which may be identified as the settlement bearing that name, namely, *Tell-s-Samak*, on the sea-shore, where the shore line of the Bay of Acre takes a turn to the south. The current identification of *Tell-s-Samak* with Šikmōnāh of the post-Biblical texts need not necessarily militate against the identification proposed here, for the name Šikmōnāh is not mentioned before the first century A.D.,⁵ and the earlier name of Rōš-Kodeš may have been changed by any one of the new conquerors who possessed themselves of this area in the course of the intervening years.⁶

The last name on the list (No. 49) of the sub-district under discussion is *Kriyyimn*. As far as the author knows, no identification has ever been proposed for this place. With all due hesitation he would like to suggest an equation with a name which, although occurring only in one late text, seems to be of Semitic derivation. This is *Calamon*, mentioned in the list of road stations of the fourth century A.D. It is stated there to precede *Sycamona*, when proceeding from Acre southwards, and to be situated at a distance of 3 miles from it. If *Sycamona* is to be identified with *Tell-s-Samak*,⁷ *Calamon* must be located somewhere in the easternmost part of modern Haifa. No *tell*

¹ Jos: 19, 30. See Maisler, *BYPES* 6, 151 ff.

² This Aphek appears in Tuthmosis' list in the form of 'pkn (No. 66) in its appropriate place.

³ See above, p. 54 and n. 2.

⁴ Abel, *Géographie*, II, 13; and others.

⁵ M. Avi-Yonah, *Map of Roman Palestine*, 7.

⁶ It is true that Abel does not report any sherds earlier than Ir II on this *tell* (on the basis of Jirku's statement in *ZDPV* 53, 163), but without proper excavations it is difficult to be sure that the site was not occupied before that period. Thus, for example, Garstang reported MB finds in a small trial trench outside the city wall of 'Ay, while the excavations of the *tell* have definitely established the fact that the site had not been occupied between the end of EB and the early phase of Ir I.

⁷ See above.

is known in this neighbourhood, unless it be *Tell Abū Hawām*, which seems archaeologically unsuitable since its occupation begins only *c.* the fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C.¹ It has been assumed² that the name derives from a Semitic קלמון, mainly because in the neighbourhood of its assumed location there is a Wādī Ṣalamān, which was thought to have preserved traces of the original onomastic tradition. If, however, the author's suggestion be correct the original name must have been קלמון (from the √קלם = reeds), a name quite appropriate to the flora of the rather marshy vicinity.³

In summarizing it is possible to say that the third district in Tuthmosis III's shorter list probably corresponds roughly to what was later the kingdom of Ḥāṣōr; and it would be safe to assume that the ruler heading this province was the king of Ḥāṣōr. His kingdom-district comprised five sub-districts, the first and the fifth having each five fiefs, and the second, third, and fourth having three each; that is, if we accept the author's identification of *Šam'ana*. If we accept Maisler's identification⁴ then the first and second districts contained four fiefs each, the third and fourth three each, and the fifth five.

Proceeding from the north-east southwards and westwards the first sub-district was apparently *all Kinnarōt*,⁵ with its sub-district chief—the king of Kinnarōt. The local fiefs were Laish, probably ruling over the northern valley of the Ḥūleh; Ḥāṣōr (as a local centre, apart from being the metropolis of the whole district), lording it over the southern Ḥūleh and the plateau about the modern Jewish settlements of 'Ayyelet-haššaḥar, Maḥanaim, and Roš-Pinnāh; Kinnarōt (as a local centre, apart from being apparently also the centre of the sub-district), dominating the valley later known as Ginnēsār and the coastal strip on the west of the lake to the effluence of the Jordan from the lake; Peḥal-Pella, the centre of the eastern part of the Jordan Valley from the lake southwards as far as the Wādī Yābis most probably including the lower valley of the Yarmūk; and Šam'ān, ruling the western Jordan Valley between the lake and the Wādī Fejjās.

The second sub-district stretching across Lower Galilee included three (or four)⁶ fiefs: 'Adōmī(m), which from its naturally fortified prominence dominated the fertile lands of Sahlī-l-'Aḥmā; Kīšyōn, ruling the fertile plain round the foot of the Thabor and the head of the Wādī Bīreh; and Shunem, which lorded it over the northern part of the Plain of Ezdraelon.

If, however, Maisler's identification of Šam'ān be accepted in preference to that proposed here by the author,⁷ then the western part of the Jordan Valley between the lake of Gennezareth and the Wādī Fejjās is to be assigned to the territory of Kinnarōt,

¹ Hamilton, *QDAP* 4, 8 ff.

² M. Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, 6 f.

³ With all due reserve the author suggests a possible identification with *Tell Abū Mudawwar*, near the Nāve Ša'nān quarter, in the valley (Muelinen, *ZDPV* 31, 37 ff. and the figure on p. 38). Nothing is known archaeologically of this *tell*, and it would repay exploration. Muelinen takes it to be a natural limestone hillock. The possibility of yet another explanation of the name is not excluded by the Egyptian transliteration. This may be derived from כלם (acc. *kaluma*—child, lamb); cf. the royal name Kalamu(wa) on the stela from Zenjirli. It would then have to be transliterated—כלמון (and not קלמון as above). See also p. 62, n. 2.

⁴ See above, pp. 56 f.

⁵ See above, p. 56.

⁶ See above, p. 56.

⁷ See above, pp. 56 f.

in addition to that assigned to it above,¹ while the northern part of the Plain of Ezdraelon is to be divided between Shunem (the north-east plain) and Šam'an-Simonias (the north-west plain, round modern Nahalāl together with the valley of Neṭōfāh?).²

The third sub-district embraces the south-eastern part of the Plain of Acre in a line stretched more or less along the right bank of the lower course of the Kīšōn, with Gaba of the Cavalry (at *Tell 'Amr*), in the east, defending the western entrance to the gorge of the Kīšōn and ruling the eastern extremity of this part of the maritime plain; 'Aḳšāf, leaning on the foot-hills of the western range of Lower Galilee and ruling the northern corner of this stretch of plain; and Miš'al (at *Tell-n-Nahl*?), dominating the central stretch of this part of the plain between the river and the first patch of marsh some distance to the north of the *tell*.

This was probably the kingdom of 'Aḳšāf, for though both Miš'al and 'Aḳšāf are mentioned in the execration texts and in the Bible, only 'Aḳšāf is indicated as a royal residence both among the vassals of the king of Ḥāšōr³ as well as in the final enumeration of the conquered Canaanite kings.⁴

The enumeration of the sub-districts so far proceeded from the east westwards, from the first sub-district to the second, and from the latter to the one next adjoining it on the west—the third. Before proceeding, however, to the westernmost sub-district, the list puts on record another sub-district (the fourth) adjoining the second—on the south, for which purpose it has to return to the south-east corner of the Plain of Ezdraelon. Here we have the kingdom of Taanach,⁵ with the fiefs: Ta'nāk, in the north-west corner of that stretch of the Plain of Ezdraelon, ruling the lands on the upper Kīšōn; Ibleam, in the south-east part of that territory, dominating the north-east corner of the Plain of Dōṭān (*Sahl-l-Arrābah*); and *Knt'sn* = Jenīn, north of it controlling the south-east tip of the Plain of Ezdraelon and the territory later known as Ma'aleh Gūr.⁶

The fifth and last sub-district is the *paralia* of the province formed by two triangles based on the western foot-hills of Lower Galilee and western Carmel respectively, and meeting with their apices at Acre. Thus we begin with 'Allammelek (probably at *Tell Kīsān*), between the Nu'mān and the Halazūn ruling the central plain of Acre. Next on the list is a certain *(s)yn* (= 'Ayana), which the author has identified with *Tell Kurdāneh*, dominating the basin of the Nu'mān. These two points mark the basis

¹ See above, p. 60.

² This valley (*Sahl-l-Baṭṭauf*) contains some *tells* which seem to contain LB and also MB remains. If *Tell Bedawiyyeh* is really the site of Ḥannātōn then we know by name at least one of these settlements, since *Ḥinnatuni* is mentioned in an EA letter (No. 8; Knudtzon, op. cit., 85 ff.; 1027) as the site of a breach of international law, where the caravan of a Babylonian merchant was attacked by subjects of the kings of Acre and Šam'an (?), its owner killed, and the goods stolen (see also above, p. 57).

³ Jos. 11, 1.

⁴ Jos. 12, 20^b.

⁵ Cf. Jud. 5, 19, where *בהענך על מי מגדו* seems to denote a territory rather than a name of a town, which is to be compared with Ps. 83, 10–11, where the defeat of Sīs'rā and Yābīn is vaguely localized on the brook of Kīšōn (*בנחל קישון*) as contrasted with a definite indication of place-names in the localization of the defeat of the Midianites by Gid'ōn ('Ein-Dōr and 'Adāmāh).

⁶ 2 Kings 9, 27; possibly to be identified with the *Gurra* mentioned in the Taanach letters; see B. Hrozný, *Tell Ta'aneh*, 113, 121; pl. 10; Maisler, *Sefer Klausner*, 1937, 56–8.

of the first of the two triangles to which reference is made above. Next comes the apex of this triangle at Acre, the great maritime port, and undoubtedly the centre of the sub-district, which is to be identified with the vassal kingdom of Acre. From there the list proceeds to the westernmost point of the second of the two triangles to which reference is made above, namely, to Rōš Kōdeš [or: Kādōš; *Rws(š) Kdš*], at the north-west tip of the Carmel range, possibly to be localized at *Tell'-s-Samak*,¹ which lorded it most probably over the strip of plain west of the Carmel (and the tip of the plateau?), perhaps as far south as the Wādī Tīreh. Last on the list is the eastern end of the base line of the second triangle, at *Kalamon* (*Kriymn*), which ruled over the coastal plain at the southern end of the bay of Acre and the strip of plain south of the Kīšōn, perhaps as far east as the gorge of that brook.²

This survey brings out most plainly the fact that the Bronze Age population of Palestine kept to the plains and valleys of the country with incursions here and there into the larger valleys between the mountains contiguous with the plains (as in the case of Sahl'-l-'Aḥmā in the east, or the Valley of Dōtān in the south). It was left to the Israelites to reclaim the mountainous districts, settle them, and draw them into the orbits of the civilization of the country. And thus we find later that such districts are named after them; for we find in the Bible ארץ אפרים, א' בנימין, א' גד, א' זבולון, א' נפתלי, א' נפתלי, א' זבולון, א' גד, א' בנימין, ארץ אפרים, but we never find א' שמעון, א' ראובן, א' יששכר, א' דן, ארץ אשר, for these districts were settled in pre-Israelite times, and were probably known by their older appellations.⁴

It would be a very instructive study to compare the list of kingdoms figuring in the narrative of the Israelite conquest (in Joshua and Judges) with this list of Tuthmosis III, with a view to finding out the changes in the political map of Palestine during the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C. under the Egyptian domination and during the early penetration of the Israelites into the country. This must, however, be reserved for some other occasion, following on a complete analysis of the political-administrative aspects of the whole of Tuthmosis III's shorter list of towns.

¹ See above, p. 59.

² Perhaps this place is to be identified with *Hirbet-Ruṣmiyyeh*, at the head of *Wādī Ruṣmiyyeh*, where the archaeological context is favourable to this suggestion (as against the identification proposed above, p. 60, n. 3).

³ Deut. 34, 2; Jud. 12, 15; Jud. 21, 21; 1 Sam. 13, 7; Is. 8, 23; 1 Kings 15, 20 respectively, and many other references.



⁴ Cf., for example, the above-mentioned case of Taanach (p. 61).




THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY *HWT BHSW* IN THE TEMPLE OF HORUS AT EDFU

By A. M. BLACKMAN AND H. W. FAIRMAN

COMMENTARY^a





1. This passage and Text 3, D, l. 2 (JEA. 35, 100, 8) indicate that for the due carrying out of the rite as originally performed, *i.e.* when it was a purely pastoral and agricultural one, the image of the harvest-god was carried in procession to a threshing-floor that he might preside over an actual and not merely a symbolical threshing. This accounts for the fact that an important feature of the ceremony in its earlier form is the killing of snakes, which would not be found haunting a temporary ceremonial threshing-floor.






1 bis. Read  instead of .

2. Both here and Text 1, D, the sign  is probably to be read *hwt* and not *hwr* = *hwr* (see below, n. 67) unless the scribe in both these instances has wrongly written  for .

3. To be read *htyw*, see Wb. III, 349, 13, and E. IV, 26, 5, quoted below, n. 10. As our text and that just referred to indicate pretty clearly, *htyw* means unthreshed corn, *i.e.* the still unseparated grain and straw.

4. See below, n. 34.

5. We know nothing about the 'four *bwt*'. Have they any connection with the *bwt* of Anubis (see Wb. I, 176, 4) whom a number of Edfu texts definitely connect with cattle, see below, n. 14. See also     de Morgan, *Ombos*, I, 59, No. 61; unfortunately the context contains nothing illuminating.

6. We know nothing about the *phdty*-snakes, which Wb. I does not record and we are very dubious about our rendering of     . With regard to the ceremonial killing



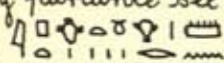
a) For the hieroglyphic texts and translation see JEA. 35, 98-112.

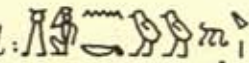
of snakes in this harvest rite, we must remember that in Egypt these reptiles are a potential danger to animals engaged in threshing, for just as snakes live in old brick walls, so one expects to find them in crevices in, or at the edge of, the threshing-floor, or in the straw and grain heaped upon or around it. In modern Egypt cattle, donkeys etc. are regularly tethered near the threshing-floor to eat husks, sugar-cane and the like, and so, no doubt, they were in ancient Egypt also. Thus snakes could threaten the calves when treading the corn or when feeding. Hence the reference in Text 1, C, to the royal herdsman's watchfulness over his calves and small cattle. It is, we feel, not out of place in this connection (see also below, n. 35) to refer to Pyt. §§ 225-6 (see Sethe, Kommentar, I, 173-180): - 'A snake (n'w) is enveloped (sn) by another snake (n'w) when the toothless calf (bhs h3bw) which has come from the pasture (hsp) is enveloped.' With regard to the 'Binder-snake' (dm3), for which see Text 3, D, and n. 35 below, it should here be pointed out that Sethe has a note on 'Riesenschlangen', *op. cit.* I, p. 175, and reference should be made to Keimer, Histoires de Serpents dans l'Égypte ancienne et moderne (Mém. Inst. d'Égypte, Tome L, Cairo 1947) who points out that though there are no pythons in Egypt now, there were in predynastic times (see figs. 25-8 in Keimer, *op. cit.*, p. 28, showing pythons attacking elephants), and fossil python-like remains (the length of the snake is estimated as having been about 30 feet) have been found in the Fayyūm (*ibid.* 32, n. 4). The Python Sebae (average length 6 metres) still exists in the Sudan. The interesting point is that Python Sebae is water-loving and Keimer rightly stresses that the disappearance of pythons from Egypt must be connected with the steady drying up of the land as a result of the introduction and development of agriculture. The references to pythons in our texts - surely the two wands carried by the King are also reminiscent of a python cut in half - are suggestive of predynastic rites and predynastic conditions; see below, Conclusions. What is puzzling is that normally 'good' snakes, i'rt, h', are here treated as dangerous. This is possibly because all snakes were regarded as potentially dangerous, and here note that Sethe, *ibid.*, 175, points out with reference to n'w, considered in the text in question as both 'good' and 'bad', that in ZÄS. 18, 88, sn = 44 is the snake in sn = Eileithyia

7. Stf = older sft, see Wb. IV, 242.

8. For the meaning of htyur see nn. 3 and 10; t3y, therefore, seems to be a word denoting grain after its separation from the straw.

9. Ipy-ib, the 'Careful' or 'Cautious One', is usually a name for, or epithet of, Thoth,

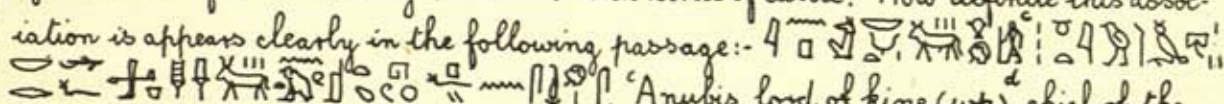
see, e.g. E. IV, 76, 3; D. II, 17, 1; 32, 8; IV, 161, 14; see also D. III, 24, 1; 186, 13; and perhaps E. II, 63, 10. The sign  here reads neither ihw nor mnh but ip,  ib acquiring the value ip by phonetic change; see Bull. Inst. fr. 43, III, 4 (a). Another instance of 'ipy-ib as an epithet of Horus occurs E. VIII, 105, 8. Finally, for the use of the expression in ordinary parlance see the exhortation addressed to the priestly bearers of Horus' shrine:  'Be ye careful while carrying the Falcon-god', E. I, 571, 10.

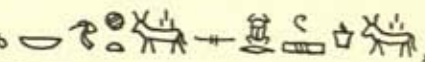
10. wt is hardly an error for ihw^a, for in E. IV, 26, 5-6, we find:  'He brings thee the Territory of the Unanointed(?) with its grain. The small cattle cannot thresh their (quota of the) corn-crop'. This passage both confirms the reading htyw and supports our view that the word means corn in its unthreshed state.

11. See Wb. IV, 38. But does sin here mean 'urging on', cf. Wb. IV, 39, 8-9?



12. See below, n. 34.

13. Lit. 'directs'; see n. 2.

14. The 'Sovereign of the wšb-cattle' is Anubis, see, e.g., E. IV, 241, 17; D. II, 105, 2; III, 69, 9. According to M. 163, 5-6 this god is 'son of the Hs3t-cow, lord of nbt-cows, with wšb-cattle in plenty'. He is therefore for some reason or other - was it because of his canine form? - closely associated with herds of cattle. How definite this association is appears clearly in the following passage:  'Anubis, lord of kine (wš), chief of the herdsmen(?), under whose authority are all small cattle, who offers cows^c to his mother Isis on that day of putting her head on again', E. II, 168, 8-9. This is evidently an allusion to the legend of the beheading of Isis by Horus.^f In the version, however, to which this passage refers it seems to have been Anubis not Thoth who gave the goddess a cow's head in place of her own.

According to Mariette, Dend., III, 52 t, the King is .

a) Though nr-ihw^f would be more normal, see Wb. II, 279, 2.

b) W-hs(?), the territory (w) of the sixth Lower-Egyptian nome, see Gardiner, Anc. Eg. Onom., II, 185*. We are not convinced, however, that the suggested reading of the name is correct, but consideration of this point must be deferred to another occasion. c)  an error for .

d) See Wb. I, 298, 6; also E. IV, 242, 6; V, 54, 17; M. 145, 17. e) See Wb. III, 329, 15.

f) See Gardiner, Chester Beatty Pap. No. 1, 20, n. 2.

'lord of 3ht-cows, who nurtures (or perhaps 'breeds') wšb-cattle.'^a As we have already learnt nb wpt, 'lord of kine', is a title of Anubis. The King, therefore, is not only designated 'son of the Sovereign of the wšb-cattle', D. II, 105, 2, but also 'trustworthy envoy (ipwtwy ikr) of the Lord of Kine (wpt), Text 6, C = E. IV, 242, 6. However, in the two formulae Text 6, A = E. IV, 241, 17 and Text 12, A = E. VII, 313, 16, the King goes so far as to assert that he himself is 'Sovereign of the wšb-cattle', and in E. VIII, 105, 8, he is addressed as such by Harsonmtus, the presiding god. What purpose the 'House of the Sovereign of the wšb-cattle' served - was it the name of a sanctuary of Anubis? - or where it was situated, we have no idea.

15. The only meaning assigned to the verb wgm by Wb. I, 377, 9, is 'grind' (mahlen). But here and in Text 2, G = E. V, 87, 7, as well as in Text 3, A (if our restoration is correct), the word must mean 'thresh'; clearly so, too, in the passage E. IV, 26, 5-6, quoted in n. 10. See also E. VII, 242, 13.

16. Perhaps restore nb [Mšn], which does occur with ~~nt~~ alone. Nb [t3] is impossible, for the phrase nt3 nb pt nb t3 to the best of our knowledge never occurs.

17. ḥḥ in the present context is to be rendered whywt 'villages', and not wh3wt 'oases' (see JEA. 27, 57, n. 2, and more fully Gardiner, Anc. Eg. Onom., Text II, 205; The Wilbour Papyrus, II, 32, 33; and also Fairman's discussion of the sources of wine in Pendlebury, City of Akhenaten, III, 165). Wherever at Edfu ḥḥ and ḥḥ occur in parallel (e.g. E. III, 107, 9; 114, 11; VII, 71, 17) these terms seem to be employed to draw a distinction between the (town)-mounds of the Delta and the villages of Upper Egypt. Thus in E. III, 169, 10, below = Text 1, G, i3wt ḥryw-ib (see also E. I, 158, 6; VI, 125, 4) is used as a synonym for iww ḥryw-ib, rw ḥryw-ib (E. VI, 125, 3; JEA. 21, 34, n. 4), the districts in the centre of the Delta (Scharff, Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarê, p. 28). That the i3wt were not mere 'mounds' but inhabited town-mounds is shown by the fact that they are provisioned (E. III, 155, 10; V, 46, 11) or restored when found desolate or abandoned (gm wš, E. III, 114, 4-5). Of course whywt was not a term applicable only to Upper Egypt, an Edfu text in fact speaks of the cities (niwwt) of Upper Egypt and the villages (whywt) of Lower Egypt (E. III, 118, 15), but where i3wt and whywt occur in parallel our experience is that they

a) Cf. E. IV, 272, 15.

b) The King is also ipwtwy nt nb wpt, D. I, 115, 3.

c) Emending

1 for 1. d) Cf. 'the villages (ḥḥ) which are in the Western River' on an Amarna wine-jar (Pendlebury, *op. cit.* III, pl. XXXV, 18 and p. 165; and cf. *ibid.* p. 166 (11)).

the flooded basin,' E.VI, 226, 8. The latter passage shows clearly that wb3-s is a technical term referring to a specific time in the agricultural year, the season when ploughing became possible. See Lyons, JEA.12, 242, who says: 'When the whole of the alluvial plain of the Nile Valley was flooded annually, as was the case up to about a century ago..... the flood water was retained on the land by dykes for about six weeks until the soil was thoroughly soaked.....; it was then run off into the falling river.' Hence the reference to 'cattle' (w3bw) in our text, who were, of course, to be used for the ploughing (cf. P. d'Orbinery, 2, 2-3) of the newly recovered land, and later for the threshing of the grain.

30. Another instance of substitution-apposition; see above n. 20.

31. Reading $[\Sigma] \overset{\Sigma}{\underset{1}{\text{---}}}$? Possible traces of Σ .

32. Traces only of U. One expects the det. A with bh, for the employment of which word here cf. E.III, 150, 3. Cf. also the similar use of bh: 'He (the King) has filled the field with millions and hundreds of thousands in order to stock his barns with grain,' E.VI, 261, 3. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility of a change from h to k here; cf. h = KW and Ann. Serv. 43, 276, note LVIII.

33. We take the much discussed h_{ti}yw of Min to be a shrine at the top of a flight of stairs, like the h_b-sd shrines in the precincts of Djoser's pyramid-temple at Saqqarah.

34. The ropes in question, also alluded to in Text I, A, are clearly shown in the Karnak relief (JEA 35, pl. VII), in fact in all reliefs known to us depicting the ceremony.

35. We know of no other occurrence of in as name of a snake. We suggest that the word is a derivative of dm: 'bind', the snake being so called because it would coil itself round its victim; see above, n. 6. ḏ41, we suggest, is for wsi. 'The destroyer of the corn-crop' can hardly mean that this reptile destroys the corn, but rather that it is the destroying, deadly snake that lurks in the corn. A probably better translation, therefore, would be 'The Binder-snake, the destroyer in the corn-crop.'

36. Reading ikn·[i] s[d]·f.

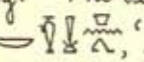
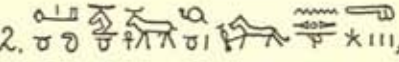
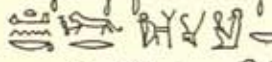
corn-crop. 36. Reading ih·[i] s[d]·f.

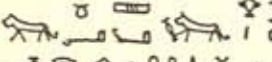
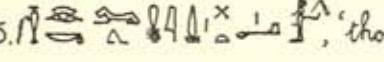
37. In the Karnak relief (JEA. 35, pl. VII) the wavy rod held along with the rope-ends in the King's left hand clearly represents the tail portion of a snake, whereas the straight rod in his right hand equally clearly represents the head portion.

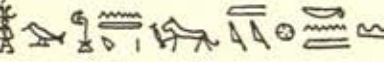
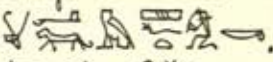
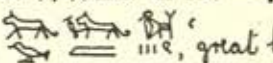
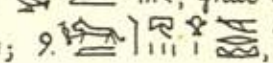
38. For snur 'summer-crop,' 'harvest,' see Gardiner, Wilbour Pap., II, 24. Gardiner quotes as unequivocal exx. Griffith, Sûit and Dêr Rîfeh, pl. 8, ll. 309-10; Pap. Sall. I, 4, 11, 5, 3.

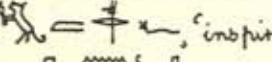
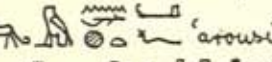
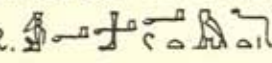
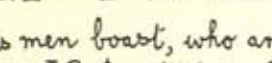
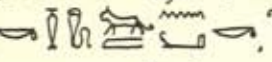
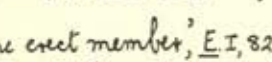
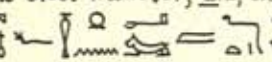
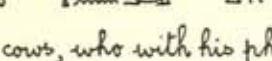
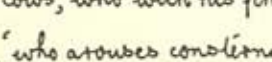
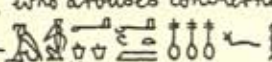
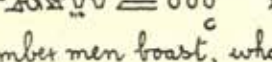
a) See, e.g., Gauthier in Kêmi, II, 41-82.

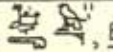
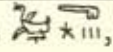
another agency. The examples are as follows:-


(a). 1. , 'Lord of terror' (= Min), E.IV, 270, 15; 2.  * III, 'I give thee the dignity of the Living Soul of Re, the terror of Min, the most virile of the gods,'^a E.II, 270, 10; 3. , 'I put terror for thee into the foe of Thy Majesty,' E.IV, 393, 13.

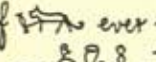
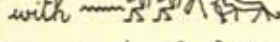
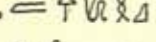
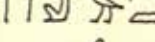
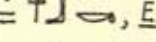
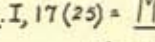
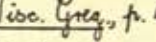
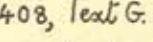
(b). 4. , 'strong lion, arousing fear upon the desert-plateau,' E.III, 188, 10; 5. , 'thou inspirest fear like Him-with-the-outstretched-Arm,' E.I, 102, 11-12.

(c). 6. , 'a sovereign rich in cultivated land, who arouses dread in Deds and Knmt,' E.III, 132, 15; 7. , 'arousing consternation in thine enemy,' Misc. Greq. 406, Text G.I, 15; 8. , 'great lion, inspiring fear in his foes,' E.III, 271, 14; see also E.I, 82, 8 = XI, pl. CCXLVII; 9. , 'inspiring fear in the game upon the desert-plateau,' E.III, 197, 9.

(d). 10. , 'inspiring fear with his strong member,' E.I, 82, 11 = XI, pl. CCXLVII; 11. , 'arousing consternation with his erect member,'^b Misc. Greq. 404, Text F, 8; 12. , 'He-with-the-uplifted-Arm, of whose phallus men boast, who arouses alarm with his erect member,' E.II, 85, 2-3; 13. , 'I give thee strength to smite thine enemies and thou inspirest fear with thine erect member,' E.I, 82, 10 = XI, pl. CCXLVII; see also E.I, 242, 10-11; III, 122, 4; IV, 242, 13; 14. , 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bull who presides over his cows, who with his phallus inspires fear in the gods,' Ombos I, 21, No. 16; 15. , 'who arouses consternation among the gods with his phallus,' E.I, 375, 14-15 = XII, pl. CCCXXIX; 16. , 'He-with-the-uplifted-Arm, of whose beautiful member men boast, who inspires fear with his own phallus,' E.I, 374, 3-4; 17. , 'the Falcon who holds aloft the whip and arouses fear with his own phallus,' E.III, 87, 8-9; see also III, 88, 9; V, 241, 15; 18. , 'who inspires fear with his live member,' E.IV, 71, 7-8; see also M. 15, 12; 19. , 'beneficent heir, King of Eternity, who in very truth inspires fear with his beautiful member,' E.IV, 271, 4; 20. , 'with strong hands like Him-with-the-outstretched-Arm, inspiring fear with his handiwork,' E.I, 375, 10 = XII, pl. CCCXXIX.

a) The epithet is written , E.IV, 222, 4;  * III, E.IV, 271, 3. b) See Misc. Greq. 418, n. 70.

c) Emending .

Can the reading of  ever be 3m, as we proposed in *Misc. Greq.*, 423, n. 126, when dealing with  =      , *E.I.*, 17 (25) = *Misc. Greq.*, p. 408, Text G. II, 13? In the light of the evidence we have produced we now think this idea must be abandoned and the passage in question translated: 'the flail, that inspires fear, in thy right hand, the crook, ruler of the earth, in thy left.'

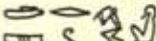
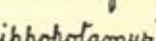

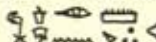
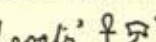
52. Emending *iw-[f m] M nwr*.

53. The words sound more like an utterance of Isis than of Horus!

54. The bull-determ. is an error found again in Texts 7, A and D; 10, D; 11, A; also *D.I.*, 114, 17; 147, 7.

55. See also *M.* 145, 17; *D.IV.*, 92, 18-93, 1. *Rmnty* is definitely Anubis according to *E.IV.*, 276, 8. See perhaps also Sethe, *Pyt., Übersetzung und Kommentar*, I, p. 24.

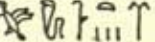

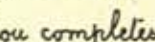
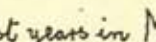
56. Also a designation of Anubis; see above n. 14.

57. *Dsrw* is probably a word for enemies, lit. 'red ones'. Seth himself is designated , *Wb.* V, 493, 1, and in Myth D he is , 'a red hippopotamus', *E.VI.*, 216, 2, while in Myth E he is , 'a red donkey', *E.VI.*, 222, 4; see also Fairman, *JEA.*, 21, 27. Note also in the Edfu Calendar the reference to the making of a hippopotamus in red wax, , *E.V.*, 133, 8; and to the 'two red goats', , in the list of offerings, *E.V.*, 135, 9.

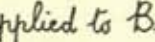
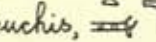
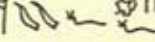
Note that *Pap. Chester Beatty*, No. III, 11, 5, represents Seth's followers as red.

58. = *iputy ikr nty nb wpt*. The Lord of Kine is Anubis, see *E.II.*, 168, 8 (quoted above in n. 14); *M.* 146, 2-3 = Text 9, D; perhaps *E.V.*, 54, 17.

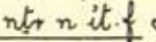
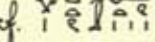
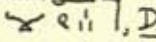
59. For the King as 'son of the Nile-god, born of the Tilt-h-goddess' see also Text 9, D. For the Tilt-h-goddess see *E.I.*, 464, 1-2; 468, 8; 555, 5-6; *VI.*, 108, 2; 133, 13.


60. For *Mdt-st* see also    , 'thou completest years in *Mdt-st*', *E.* III, 115, 9. Where the place was situated, except presumably in the Delta, we have no idea.


61. Osiris; see *E.V.*, 293, 11; also *IV.*, 35, 2-3; *M.* 146, 3 = Text 9, D.



62. The same epithet is applied to Buchis,   , Mond-Myers, *Buchisum*, III, pl. XL1, No. 10, and to Apis, *Rec. trav.* 38, 37 with refs. Mentioned also Otto, *Stierkulte*, 27.

63. = for *mm*. For the King as son of the *imy-r* *srwt* see also *E.IV.*, 122, 12; *D.III.*, 69, 9.

64. = for *mm* again. With *iw-ntr n it.f* cf.   , *D.II.*, 138, 1.

65. For  cf. *E.I.*, 61, 9 = *XL*, pl. CCXXXIV; *VII.*, 155, 13 = Text 8, A.

a) Chassinat's restored sign is, we think, incorrect. It should almost certainly be .



66. Emend <8>  .



67. Hw here and below in Text 7, G, is simply a writing of the verb hwi 'drive', the Upper-Egyptians already in Ptolemaic times making no distinction between h and h̄; see our comment on this point JEA 30, 21, middle of page.










68. See Bull. Inst. fr. 43, 109 (L).

69. See Ann. Serv. 43, 280, n. LXXIII; JEA 29, 33, n. 20.

70. See JEA 29, 29, n. 14; E. III, 188, 14; VI, 65, 2; 317, 6.



























71. mm for m. 72. Restoring  , why-sp.f.

73. 'n wšb written 'n wš'; the — due to misunderstanding of  wrongly used for .

74. The words          have been omitted in the copy of the text in JEA.

35, 103. - Pr-h'y is both a name of the royal palace and also a name of the place in which the Hb-šd was celebrated (WB. III, 40). The term appears first in the late Eighteenth Dynasty (as a name of the palace of Amenophis III at Malkata) and at el-Amarna, see Ann. Serv. 42, 491, 492; Höbcher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II, The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, fig. (g) on p. 7; and furthermore Fairman's remarks in Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten, III, 193, 195-7. The word occurs in the following contexts in the Edfu inscriptions:-

a. As a name of the Hb-šd building, of which there are very clear examples.

1.                          

b. As a name for the royal palace, or uncertain.

8. 'I place for thee (?) the awe of thee among the gods in thy great seat in the House of Rejoicing,' E II, 4, 2-3; 9. 'I give thee the palace pure for thy ka, the House of Rejoicing clean for thy Diadem,' E III, 110, 3-4; 10. 'I give thee the House of Rejoicing joyful at holding thy beauty, the Grand Portal grand with thy presence' (lit. 'form'), E III, 114, 11-12; 11. The King is 'upon his throne rejoicing in the House of Rejoicing,' E V, 160, 17; 12. '.... upon thy throne in the House of Rejoicing,' E V, 217, 5; 13. 'He gives him the House of Rejoicing joyful at holding His Majesty,' E VI, 18, 14; 14. '.... [the House] of Rejoicing purified from pollution, the Great Seat <cleansed> from defilement,' M. 139, 12; 15. 'I give thee the Great Seat compassed about with happiness, the House of Rejoicing joyful at holding Thy Majesty,' M. 148, 6. 16. The ex. which evoked this note, E. VII, 156, 6; 17. 'I give thee the House of Rejoicing joyful at holding Thy Majesty, furnished with every good thing,' E VI, 92, 5-6.

It is most difficult to decide to which building exx. 8-17 refer, the royal palace or the 'Mansion of Jubilee' (Hwt hb. sd, see E V, 39, 2). On the whole our feeling is that in exx. 9, 10, 13, 14, 15 and 17, *hr-kꜣ* means almost certainly 'palace', whereas about the other instances we have an open mind.

75. For *ir-hrs-m-fl* see also E V, 183, 12; VII, 154, 8; D. I, 147, 7; II, 141, 2; 145, 13.

76. See Wb. V, 130, 4.

77. *hr-k mꜣ*.

78. Cf. E. VII, 66, 1-2.

79. See E IV, 242, 5 = Text 6, C.

80. *Rdw-s*: lit. 'its efflux', 'its exudation'.

81. = Coptic *SN00Y*.

82. Emend *nth shpr s(w)*, *ssr-nh-ket*;

Fairman will shortly publish in JEA a note on the infrequent *x = s* and on another hitherto unnoted alphabetic value of the same sign.

83. must be an error for *ir s(w)*, cf. the spelling of *ir-sꜣm* (E IV, 122, 16) quoted above in n. 26; a similar epithet is applied to Horus in E VII, 82, 8. For as error for see Bull. Inst. fr., 43, 81, (c).

84. See Wb. I, 242, 6; E I, 575, 14; II, 47, 8; V, 297, 19, 298, 7; 299, 15; 395, 12. Cf. also the minor and protector gods designated E III, 33, 12.

a) Reading *di-i n-k hf:t-k*? b) A word like seems missing here; cf. ex. 9.

CONCLUSIONS

The earliest representations of the ceremony of Driving the Calves cited by *Wb.* I, 469, 8, *Belegstellen*, date from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and are to be found at Dēr el-Baḥrī (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, v, pl. 134; vi, pl. 164) and Luxor (Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, pl. 9 = Bonnet, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 91). The ceremony is depicted also in the temple of Ḥatshepsut at Buhen (MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, II, pl. 35, top), and on a New Kingdom coffin (*ZÄS* 39, pl. 5). It almost certainly appeared in one of the reliefs adorning the pyramid-temple of Saḥurē (see Sethe ap. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-er*, 115 f. and pl. 47). Thus its performance can be traced back anyhow to the Fifth Dynasty.

All reliefs of this ceremony show the king driving four calves, a white, a black, a red, and a speckled one, into the presence of a male divinity, who is sometimes accompanied by a goddess (only in Ptolemaic examples). In the Saḥurē relief this male divinity is unfortunately destroyed, but was presumably Min; at Buhen also the head and name of the god are missing, but he was not ithyphallic; at Luxor the god is the non-ithyphallic Amen-Rē, but in both Dēr el-Baḥrī scenes the divinity is the ithyphallic Amen-Rē. On the portal of Euergetes I the divinity is Min-Amen-Rē, at Edfu he is Horus the Behdetite, Min, Amūn, or, exceptionally, Osiris (Text 4). Osiris is also the presiding god in the painted scene on the New Kingdom coffin.

The feature common to all representations of the ceremony is that the King, who wears the *atef*-crown,¹ holds in one hand the coiled ends of four ropes (each terminating in an $\overline{\text{A}}$ -symbol and attached to the leg of a calf), and at right-angles to the ground what appears to be a wavy rod. In the other hand he carries a straight rod, usually terminating in a snake's head, held parallel with, or at a slight angle to, the ground. The wavy rod and coiled ropes are always in the hand farthest from the beholder, i.e. in the left hand when the King faces right, and *vice versa*. The relief on the portal of Euergetes I (see *JEA* 35, pl. 7) and its accompanying Text 3, D make it clear that the two rods represent a snake that has been cut in half, and this is apparent at Buhen, Dēr el-Baḥrī, and in several of the Edfu reliefs (see *E.* IX, pls. 17, 64; *E.* X, pl. 92; *E.* XI, pl. 244; *E.* XIV, pl. 633, and see also *D.* I, pl. 83). In *E.* IX, pl. 40g the wand ending in a snake's head has been omitted, and in Gayet's line-drawing of the Luxor relief and in *E.* IX, pls. 17 and 32, the snake's head is not shown, while in *M.* pl. 25, the wand is replaced by a mace with pear-shaped head.²

In all the early reliefs, from that in Saḥurē's pyramid-temple to that in the temple at Luxor without exception, each of the four ropes is attached to a calf's foreleg. In Euergetes I's relief likewise the four ropes are fastened each to a foreleg, the King being on the left, in faithful conformity with ancient usage.³ At Edfu, however, the rope is

¹ At Luxor and in Text I (*E.* IX, pl. 64), however, the King wears a wig and fillet surmounted by an *atef*-crown.

² All these exceptional features may be due to errors or misunderstandings on the part of the modern copyist.

³ In *D.* I, pl. 83, the ropes are attached to the right forelegs, the King being on the left. Note that the accompanying text, though belonging to Category II (see below, p. 78), preserves traces of the earlier *pastoral* character of the rite.

normally fastened to one of the hindlegs, and only in the relief to which our Text 5 belongs (see *E.* IX, pl. 40g) is the older usage preserved and the ropes attached to the left forelegs.¹

The scenes on the New Kingdom coffin² are exceptional. The 'driving of the calves' is depicted on the extreme left of the panel as an addendum to *Heb-sed* scenes in which the King performs what Kees has termed the 'Hebsedlauf' and the 'Ruderlauf'. The King stands on the left and wears a wig only; behind him is an upright *dnb*-sign \square . He drives the four calves towards the fetish of Abydos, which faces towards him and behind which come the *Heb-sed* scenes. In his left hand the King holds the wavy wand and the coiled ropes, each terminating in an $\frac{\text{f}}{\text{f}}$ -symbol and each attached to the left hindleg of a calf. In his right hand is the straight wand, which passes behind his body; the head of the wand is now missing. The scene shows marked late characteristics, and we doubt whether Möller's early dating is justified, although it cannot be later than the Twenty-first Dynasty. Compare the garbled version of the driving of the calves on another coffin from the second cache at Dēr el-Baḥrī³ in which the *Iun-mutef* priest, clad in a panther-skin, drives the four calves towards two deities bearing on their heads f and the emblem of Nefertum respectively; in this scene there are no ropes and the head of the straight wand is indeterminate but may have been intended to represent a snake's head.

A study of our texts clearly shows that *hwt bhsu* was in the first instance a harvest-rite, a ceremonial threshing of corn conducted by the King in the presence of the harvest-god, originally Min (see *Wb.* III, 47, 1), later the ithyphallic Amūn (cf. *Wb.* I, 469, 8), at Edfu often replaced by Horus the Behdetite, Min having already at a comparatively early date been identified with Horus son of Osiris and Isis (see Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 138 ff.). Like most Egyptian religious ceremonies it underwent a process of Osirianization and in consequence of this it was supposed to represent the 'treading on' (*hh*) the grave of Osiris by the four calves (see below, p. 78) with a view to hiding it and so to preventing its violation and profanation at the hands of the god's enemies.

At Edfu the reliefs depicting the 'driving of the calves' fall into three categories, the texts of two of them representing the older version of the rite, those of six others the newer, while those of three display a confusion of ideas or a complete misunderstanding of the significance of the ceremony whether in the form of Category I or II.

CATEGORY I. As already stated, only two of the Edfu reliefs, Texts 1 and 2, are concerned with the earlier version of the rite. We were thus only too glad to avail ourselves of the kind permission of the Oriental Institute of Chicago to make what use we pleased of their admirable photograph of the relief on Euergetes I's gateway, especially as it supplies us with information that seems to occur nowhere else. To the inscriptions accompanying the relief we have given the number 3 and assigned them to Category I where they clearly belong. They will henceforth be referred to as Text 3, A, 3, B, etc.

¹ No photographs or drawings of Texts 2 and 14 have been published.

² Georg Möller, *Das Hb-sd des Osiris nach Sargdarstellung des Neuen Reiches* (*ZÄS* 39, pp. 71 ff.; pls. 4, 5).

³ Cairo 6016; Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 5.

(7) Text 9, D informs us that the King as son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilth-goddess is he who protects B₃-b₃w and treads the grave of his sire. (8) Finally, it is said of Horus of Edfu Thou art he who did tread the grave of his father in Heliopolis beside Rē̄r, lord of Ḥwt-bnbn, E. VIII, 7, 14.

As well as the verb 𓂏𓂏 'seek', Wb. III, 152, 6 cites another word 𓂏𓂏 (var. 𓂏𓂏) meaning 'tread' or 'set foot upon' a place (*einen Ort betreten*). It is this latter verb, we suggest, that appears in the above-quoted passages, and the evidence seems to favour our suggestion. The texts in Category I certainly speak of a ceremonial threshing of corn on the presiding god's threshing-floor. In the Osirianized version of the rite the threshing-floor, we venture to think, was regarded as the site of the grave of Osiris in his role of dead corn-god, and the calves by their treading of the corn and trampling on the floor were supposed to hide the grave from Osiris's enemies. Certain texts belonging to Category II and one in Category III seem to support this notion. The calves are driven by the King *to hide thy burial-place, thy vault being sacrosanct, none knowing its portals*, Text 10, D. The King addressing Osiris asserts that he drives the calves *so that thy Hallowed Land is free from all that is evil, thy place of burial hidden from all foes*, Text 4, A. Or, again, his object is *to hide thy upland tomb* and in the guise of Horus *to turn away enemies from the sepulchre*, Text 4, D, *turn away the steps of the Perverse One from the graveyard*, Text 5, A, or *conceal the vault of his father* (Osiris), Text 8, D. Finally, the King is likened to Horus *who buried his father in Heliopolis and hid the body of His-nose-liveth*, Text 7, D, and is described as *driving the calves and hiding the crypt of his creator*, Text 7, G.

The officiating King is sometimes equated with or likened to Min (Text 4, c [cf. Text 4, E, 1], Text 7, A and 7, c) or Horus (Texts 5, c and 7, d). That he impersonates one or other of these two gods, Horus in particular, is implicit in every representation of the Osirianized ceremony.

Despite its Osirianization the rite still shows traces of its original pastoral and agricultural character. Thus the presiding divinity can still be regarded as a fertility-god, the giver of an abundant harvest and full cattle-sheds (Text 6, E, I and G; cf. *D.* I, 147, 15), while the King in the role of herdsman is *Sovereign of the wšb-cattle* (Text 6, A; Text 9, A), *trusty envoy of the Lord of Kine, son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilt-goddess* (Text 6, C; Text 9, D; cf. *D.* I, 115, 3). Note also that in Text 7, D the King is described as *driving the calves, treading the grave of his father, and trampling down those hostile to his sire*, where perhaps the 'trampling' is reminiscent of what was originally the main feature of the performance, the treading of corn on the threshing-floor by the four calves; cf. the symbolical trampling on fish by the prophets, fathers of the god and scribe of the sacred books, one of the ceremonies performed at the great festival at Edfu on the occasions of Hathōr's annual visit, *E.* v, 134, 2-3 and 5-6.

In the Osirianized versions of *ḥwt bḥsw* Horus and Min are now and then assigned the attribute *who drove the calves in Heliopolis* (Texts 5, C and 7, A; cf. Text 11, D) and in Text 7, D, it is definitely stated that Horus buried his father in Heliopolis,¹ while the passage *E. I, 51, 13* informs us that the sepulchre of the dead gods of Edfu is *the like of*

¹ See also the passage *E.* VIII, 7, 14, quoted above, (8).

that which is in Heliopolis.¹ This claim on the part of Heliopolis to possess the tomb of Osiris may be older than the similar claim put forward by Memphis (Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 76), a claim which Junker (*Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, 8) would date back not earlier than the Third Dynasty. The Heliopolitan claim, though found in a Ptolemaic text, may nevertheless be derived from an ancient source and date, if not, as Sethe might have maintained, from predynastic times, anyhow from the First to Second Dynasties.

Because the rite was given an Osirian significance and performed to protect Osiris's grave, it was eventually employed as a funerary ceremony for individuals other than Osiris, such as the dead divinities of Edfu,² and possibly, in view of the fragmentary relief in the pyramid-temple of Sahurê (see above, p. 76), dead kings of the Old Kingdom. Apart from the paintings on the two coffins mentioned above, p. 77, we have no indication whatever that the ceremony was performed for private individuals, and it probably never was. In short, the paintings in question may be just the pictures of a rite that it was considered desirable to have portrayed on a coffin, such pictures possessing magical qualities, being in fact substitutes for an actual performance.

Why does the King in all these representations of our rite appear regularly wearing the *atef*-crown? According to Scharff, *Die Ausbreitung des Osiriskultes in der Frühzeit und während des Alten Reiches*, 14, that crown is a combination of two Lower Egyptian crowns and is not to be regarded as an older form of the historic double diadem. If this view is correct, the answer to our question is that, like the Running of the Apis (see Blackman, *Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1, 7 ff.), this is a Lower Egyptian ceremony. Now Scharff, *Das Grab als Wohnhaus*, 14, maintains that agriculture was practised in the Delta at an earlier date than in Upper Egypt.³ Accordingly, the corn-growing peasants of Lower Egypt may well have been the originators of this ceremony, which would naturally have been performed in the presence of a Lower Egyptian fertility-god. Later on, after the final union of the Two Lands, the dynastic Upper Egyptians took over this Delta ceremony and identified the presiding divinity with their own fertility-god Min. The officiating King, however, continued to wear the two old Lower Egyptian crowns in accordance with that conservatism which Egyptians were ever wont to display in all matters appertaining to the outward observance of a religious rite.

CATEGORY III. Perhaps Text 10 should have been included in Category II. It has been assigned by us to Category III because the priestly compiler of the passages composing it seems to have altogether lost sight of the true significance of the ceremony, assigning the hidden grave to Horus, the presiding god, instead of to Osiris! With regard to Text 11, though the King says to Min *Thou art Horus who drove the calves in Heliopolis*, the purport of the ceremony is completely disregarded. Not only have all the pastoral and agricultural allusions vanished, but no reference whatever is made to the

¹ On the other hand Text 8, A, places the tomb of Osiris in Behdet!

² E. 11, 51, 12. E. v. 131, 8 suggests that the ceremony was intended to be performed annually for these dead gods, see below, p. 81.

³ Even if Scharff is mistaken, the *ḥwt bḥsw* may have been in the first instance, as we have already suggested (see above, p. 78), a pastoral rather than an agricultural rite, and so may still have originated in the Delta at a very early date (see Commentary, n. 6) among the cattle-keeping section of the population.

grave of Osiris, while Min, the presiding divinity, appears not as a fertility-god, but as a desert-ranger and explorer of the marvels of Pwāne. Text 12 is quite anomalous and once more the original meaning of the ceremony has been forgotten. It is true that in a much abbreviated 'formula' the King claims to be *Sovereign of the wšb-cattle*, but the *driving of the calves* is not mentioned, nor again is there anywhere a reference to the grave of Osiris. The King merely offers Horus and his consort Hathōr the *four cords of the entire earth* and is content to receive in return a vague promise that the inhabitants of the south, north, east, and west shall be his servants! Thus in this and the preceding representation the rite has become practically meaningless, which may possibly be accounted for by the fact that for a long period of time it had fallen into disuse¹ and survived mainly as a pictured ceremony that tradition demanded should have a place among the reliefs adorning the walls of a great Egyptian temple.

POSTSCRIPT

When this paper was already in proof Dr. H. H. Nelson, who is preparing a study of all the reliefs and inscriptions in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, drew our attention to a relief of Sethos I (No. 33 [237] in his manuscript) depicting the offering of milk. The title of the scene reads 'Making offering of the milk of the cows of the estates of Tjeni (𓂏𓂏)'. This god Tjeni, Dr. Nelson points out, occurs as 𓂏𓂏 in a list of gods at the Pyramid of Pepi II,² and in the names of two domains in unpublished scenes from the Causeway of Unis. Dr. Nelson has also shown us an unpublished scene in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III at Karnak³ in which the King stands before the ithyphallic Amen-Rē with, between them, two bulls and two cows, the name of one of the latter, and also in a parallel scene, apparently being *wšbt*. Behind the King stands a human-headed god 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 'Tjeni, Lord of Kine'. Dr. Nelson is of the opinion that Tjeni was associated with cattle, especially milch-cows. What connexion, if any, existed between Tjeni and Anubis and *Rmnty* we cannot yet say, but it is to be hoped that more information will be available by the time Dr. Nelson publishes this scene and his interesting comparative material.

¹ Except possibly for its yearly performance at Edfu on the first day of the New Moon Festival in the third month of Shōmu (*E. v*, 125, 4), when Hathōr paid a visit to Horus the Behdetite, where it occurs in what after all may be a purely conventional list of ceremonies. It may also have occurred on the second day of this New Moon Festival (*E. v*, 131, 8) among the ceremonies performed for the Dead Gods, if *hḥ is in hmtw-ntr* (see above, p. 78) means that the prophets 'trod the grave' by driving the four calves over the place where these divinities were supposed to be interred.

² Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pépi II*, 111, 15 and pls. 24, 25.

³ Nelson, *Key Plans showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, pl. 7, KF. 284.

NOTE ON A PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION OF PTOLEMAIC DATE

By G. R. DRIVER

PROFESSOR Honeyman in his discussion of the long inscription of the Ptolemaic age from Larnax tes Lapethon (*JEA* 26, 57 ff.) has greatly advanced the interpretation of this interesting document, but he seems to me to have erred on one point. This concerns the prepositions in l. 11, on which a historical problem of some importance hangs.

The author of this text, one Yaton-ba'al, says that he has erected the monument on which it is inscribed in the fourth year of Ptolemy (ll. 3-8) and has established offerings לאדן אש לי למלקרת . . . על חיי ועל חי זרעי ים מדי ולצמח צדק ולאשתו ולאדמי 'to mine own lord Melqart . . . for the sake of my life and that of my seed, day by day, and to the rightful scion and to his wives [*sic*] and to his blood' (ll. 9-11). Professor Honeyman thus translates this crucial passage, saying in a note on the prepositions in l. 11 that 'the preposition [ל as distinct from על] quite explicitly signifies sacrifice "to" and not merely "on behalf of" the rightful scion &c., and thus none other than Ptolemy himself can be intended' and claiming in the text 'that the curious expression ולצמח צדק . . . applies not to the deceased Soter but to the reigning Philadelphus'.

Does צמח צדק in fact refer to either of these kings? If this interpretation is correct, it makes the writer jump from the last mention of Ptolemy (in ll. 7-8), across the two statements of the dedication of the offerings to (ל) Melqart (in ll. 9-10) and of their intention for or on behalf of (על) the life of the donor and his seed (at the beginning of l. 11), to the issue of the same Ptolemy to (ל) whom and to (ל) whose family the offerings must *ex hypothesi* also be given (at the end of l. 11). The order also of the persons thus mentioned is strange: the offerings are made to Melqart for Yaton-ba'al and to Ptolemy, who thus comes in as an afterthought. Further, the omission of the person whose צמח is meant, namely *ex hypothesi* Ptolemy, makes the construction intolerably harsh and the passage hardly intelligible without an explanatory note.

I suspect therefore that על and ל in l. 11 have the same connotation and that על is loosely caught up by ל instead of being repeated, as אל is caught up by ל in יהנה עין יהנה 'lo! the eye of the Lord is toward them that fear Him, to(ward) them that look for His loyalty' (Ps. 33, 18; cp. Eccl. 3, 17). Thus the clause may be translated 'on behalf of my life and on behalf of the life of my seed, day by day, and (on behalf) of (any) lawful scion (thereof) and (on behalf) of his wife and (on behalf) of my kin'; the offering is for the life of the donor and his issue and for those of the lawful family and his kith and kin. The צמח is any descendants that the זרע of the donor may have, and the two clauses taken together are a loose way of describing posterity to all generations, for ever and ever, in the direct and legitimate line.

PICTORIAL COIN-TYPES AT THE ROMAN MINT OF ALEXANDRIA

A SUPPLEMENT

By J. G. MILNE

A COIN recently shown at the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. R. L. Sandys-Wood of University College, Oxford, has enabled an interesting type to be added to the list contained in the article dealing with the activities of the Alexandrian mint in the reign of Antoninus Pius which appeared in volume 29 of the *Journal*.¹ The type had been published previously, but with an error in the date which led to its being overlooked in the survey of the pictorial types which were initiated in the fourth year of that reign. The coin is



a bronze drachma of the eighth year, with the obverse type ΑΥΤΚΤΑΙΛΑΔΡ ΑΝΤΩ-ΝΕΙΝΟCCEBEΥC Head of Antoninus r. laureate, and on the reverse the triumph of Apollo over Marsyas. The surface of the coin is rather worn, but the main details are clear: Apollo is seated to right on a rock, with drapery over his legs, playing on his lyre; at his feet his Scythian slave kneels to left, wearing a cap and short chiton, sharpening his knife on a stone; Marsyas hangs suspended by his wrists from a tree, facing Apollo; between them is the date LH.

The previous publications of this type are by Zoega and Mionnet: the specimen quoted by Zoega was at Florence, and he read the date as LB: Mionnet repeats Zoega's description, and also describes a second specimen, which he says is undated.² Probably they were both working on worn examples: Mionnet illustrates the second, which is from the same dies as Mr. Sandys-Wood's, and there can be no doubt that the reading LH is correct, as the obverse type is one which belongs to the eighth year, and there are two coins with different reverses of the eighth year in the Ashmolean which are

¹ *JEA* 29, 63. A selection of pictorial coin-types is illustrated on pl. 4.

² Zoega, *Num. Aeg.* 168/36 = Mionnet, *Descr. de Méd. Ant.* vi, 211/1409. Mionnet, *op. cit.* vi, 283/1948 and pl. opp. ix, 24.

both struck with this same obverse die. So this type of Apollo and Marsyas may certainly be added to the pictorial series which began in year 4.

It strengthens the argument that this series shows signs of an artistic relation with Western Asia Minor. The nearest analogy, both in choice of subject and of treatment, is to be found in the scene of the judgement of Paris, which is found on the bronze drachmas of years 5 and 7: this was naturally at home in the Troad, where it was used on coins of Ilium in the reign of Gordianus III and on those of Scepsis in the reign of Caracalla: it also occurs at Tarsus under Maximinus. The Marsyas legend belongs to Lydia, and a group of Apollo and Marsyas appears as a type at Germe in the reigns of Caracalla and Gordianus III, though only the second has reference to the episode of the flaying which is the Alexandrian reverse type.¹ It may be noted that in all these cases the dates of the coins are later than those of Alexandria with the same subjects, and that the treatment is much less elaborate. Borrowing of coin-types by the mint of Alexandria from other places was not unknown under the Empire: one of the earliest and clearest instances was under Augustus, when two types, the temple of Mars Ultor and a Triumphal Arch, were taken directly from silver cistophori struck at Ephesus to serve as reverse types for Alexandrian bronze.² But there is no trace that the two types discussed here, or indeed any of the exotic types found in the pictorial series of the reign of Antoninus Pius, were derived from coins struck elsewhere.

As noted in the former article, two artists seem to have been employed in designing the types for the bronze drachmas at Alexandria during the issue of this series with types taken from Greek legendary sources. The first, the more robust in his handling of the figures, was at work in years 4, 5, and 6; and he dealt solely with the labours of Heracles. The second came on the field in year 5, with his scene of the judgement of Paris, and was possibly responsible for the designs of most of the drachmas from year 7 to year 10: at any rate the exotic types, Orpheus charming the beasts, Apollo and Marsyas, an improved rendering of the judgement of Paris, and a fresh set of the labours of Heracles, struck in these years, are certainly from his hand, and the series of Zodiacal types issued in year 8 also look to be in his style: as noted above, two Zodiacal types occur struck from the same obverse dies as the Apollo and Marsyas type. The first artist, in his treatment of the figure of Heracles and the simple grouping of his scenes, suggests that he belonged to a school trained in bas-relief: the second obviously drew his inspiration for his earliest mythological scenes from paintings, and the reverse types of the Zodiacal series may have been derived from a fusion of a double Zodiacal circle.

Possible reasons for the innovation in the Alexandrian mint marked by the appearance of this series of drachmas with purely Greek types and of unusually good execution were discussed in the former article; but a further suggestion may be made. It is only in the large bronze drachmas that the innovation is found: there is nothing of the same character, either in the choice of types or in the artistic style, to be traced in the base silver tetradrachms or in the smaller denominations of bronze. Even in the drachmas,

¹ Ilium coin of Gordianus, *Z.f.N.* 15, 43 (Löbbecke). Scepsis coin of Caracalla, *ibid.* 10, 155 (v. Sallet). Tarsus coin of Maximinus, *B.M.C. Cilicia* 205/223. Germe coins of Caracalla, *B.M.C. Lydia* 84/25, and of Gordianus, *ibid.* 80/9.

² See *JEA* 13, 136.

the issues of the coins with Greek mythological types must have been very small: apart from the Heracles types, there are only one or two in each year, and of all these specimens are distinctly rare. It is possible that the Roman officials at Alexandria were still under the influence of Hadrian's policy for the revival of Hellenic culture in the Nile valley, which had been marked by the foundation of the town of Antinoë in Middle Egypt with a constitution of Hellenic pattern: the bronze drachmas were the chief units of currency outside Alexandria amongst the natives, and so might serve as instruments of education in Greek ideas. The issue was clearly tentative and short-lived: it had no lasting effect, any more than the foundation of Hadrian; and, though half a dozen isolated instances of Greek mythological types are found later, there was no systematic grouping like that in the fourth to the tenth years of Antoninus Pius.

After this article was in proof, I was informed by M. Henri Seyrig that he had found a fresh addition to the Alexandrian pictorial series at Bērūt; the type is, like several of the others, taken from a legend with connexions in Asia Minor, Bellerophon attacking the Chimaera, though it is not known as a coin-type there. Another new type has just been acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, a coin of the sixth year of Antoninus Pius with the Rape of Persephone; this is interesting because the type is found on one of the medallions of the Ionian League mentioned in my previous article. The artist of the Alexandrian coin seems to have drawn his inspiration from the same source as the Ionian, and it is evident that the source was in painting, not in statuary. It will, I hope, be possible to discuss this in more detail at some future date.

POPULAR RELIGION IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

II. THE TRANSITION TO CHRISTIANITY¹

By B. R. REES

IN his recent article² Sir Harold Idris Bell discussed the religious attitude of the pagan period from the Greek occupation until the end of the first century of our era, when Egyptian, Greek, Oriental, and European deities appeared side by side in Egypt and jostled each other in competition for the popular favour. It is the purpose of this article to make a rapid survey of a cross-section of the papyrological evidence for the transition to Christianity, with particular emphasis upon the period in which the new religion was in the ascendant and which extended from the early fourth to the seventh century, and, on the basis of this survey, to attempt a statement of the essential differences and resemblances between the old and the new popular *Religiosität*. For the early Christian period spanning the second and third centuries the evidence of the documentary papyri³ is so weak and uncertain that it must not be handled except with extreme care and by expert hands, and it will be mentioned only *en passant* and where there is little or no doubt of its authenticity. Of course, the theory that Christianity was an insignificant quantity in second-century Egypt has now been entirely discredited by the discovery of palaeographically datable Biblical papyri,⁴ so that the reader of this article must be warned that it deals with evidence, not of a struggling but of a conquering, even triumphant, Christianity.

In the first place, it goes almost without saying that there were some customs and institutions of a popular kind which Christianity adopted from paganism. It was not working *in vacuo*; it was presented with certain material to work upon and a certain social framework within which to work. Nor was it merely destructive of existing institutions. Its history is a history of assimilation, adaptation, and improvisation, with sometimes one, sometimes another, as the dominant partner. So it was in Egypt. Here, as elsewhere, there were many respects in which it differed,⁵ both in its outward forms and in its inner spirit, from the pagan creeds which it fought and conquered. But, if one examines early Christianity side by side with some of its great pagan rivals, one is struck more by the similarities than by the differences, at any rate in outward forms. Of course, many of the resemblances were pure resemblances, attributable above all to the desire of the really great religions of the time to satisfy the same contemporary needs.

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to Sir Harold Idris Bell for his kindness in reading the rough draft of this article and making valuable criticisms and suggestions.

² *Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt: I. The Pagan Period*, in *JEA* 34, 82 ff.

³ See Bell, *Evidences of Christianity in Egypt during the Roman Period*, *Harvard Theological Review*, 37, 185 ff.

⁴ See Bell, *Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri* (Oxford, 1937), 28 f.

⁵ Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933), 92 f., notes some important differences.

The fact of resemblance in itself must not be pressed too closely. An effort must be made to penetrate the externals to the inner spirit which informed them and made them what they were.¹

A good example of this difficulty, that of deciding what is due to pure coincidence and what to imitation, is provided by the custom of seeking oracular responses from a particular god or gods.² Of the pagan usage there are numerous instances in the papyri.³ The questions asked were of a practical nature and the deity to whom they were addressed was named at the beginning.⁴ When composed, the petitions were deposited in the temple of the deity concerned.⁵ For the most part, they were written in illiterate Greek. They emanated not only from the upper classes but from the lower as well and they testify to the existence of a real need among all sorts and conditions of men, the need for supernatural advice and guidance in approaching the practical difficulties of everyday life.⁶

Christianity found that the removal, to all intents and purposes, of polytheism and pagan monotheism did not necessarily imply the removal of the popular needs which they had tried to satisfy and often succeeded in satisfying. These needs formed part of its legacy from paganism and, for the lack of any novel solution, it found itself using the old, which had already proved its worth. The same kind of problem was posed. The deity—now the Christian God, with whom a saint was often invoked as well—was addressed at the commencement of the petition. The petition, when completed, was presumably deposited in a church. One petition,⁷ addressed to the 'god of our protector, St. Philoxenus', asks whether Anoup should be taken to hospital and then invites God to 'show His power by accepting the prayer'. Another,⁸ addressed to 'God Almighty', inquires whether it is the Divine Will that the writer should make a certain journey and whether success will attend the venture. Another⁹ is both interesting and amusing, as the writer seems to wish to give some indication of the answer he wants, or at least expects, a conception which chimes in better with the pagan idea of a contract made with the oracle than with the orthodox Christian idea of resignation to the will of God. Here too St. Philoxenus is coupled with the Deity in the invocation and a negative answer seems to be expected, so that it might almost be said that the petition is presented so as to give God a last opportunity of preventing the petitioner from committing an indiscretion or injustice, a negative function of the moral conscience having affinities with Socrates' *δαίμόνιον*. Finally, the fact that one petition⁸ is addressed to the 'Father of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ' and the association of St. Philoxenus in the invocation, combine to suggest that its efficacy would be increased by the inclusion in it of some mediator, an idea which has been common to religions of all creeds and of all ages.¹⁰

¹ Cf. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (Cambridge, 1913), 101, 102 ff., 132.

² Bell, *JEA* 34, 95.

³ E.g. PFay. 137-8; BGU 229-30; Wessely, *Script. Gr. Spec.* no. 26; PLond. 1267d; WChr. 122.

⁴ POxy. VIII, 1148; 1149, with which cf. VI, 923; IX, 1213.

⁵ See especially POxy. XII, 1477.

⁷ POxy. VIII, 1150.

⁸ POxy. VI, 925.

⁹ POxy. XVI, 1926.

¹⁰ Cf. the hero-cults in Greek religion. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (Columbia, 1940), 19 f.

The papyri provide our fullest and most trustworthy evidence for the magical beliefs and practices of the early centuries of our era. Apart from the corpus of Preisendanz and other, less comprehensive, editions or collections, isolated specimens occur *passim* and yet comprise a mere fragment of those which were in existence from time to time.¹ We are fortunate that Egypt has preserved such a wealth of illustrations of the practice and significance of magic at that period of antiquity when it was most rife. But, as Professor Nilsson has emphasized,² the importance of the magical papyri is not confined to their usefulness for the study of magic. They are valuable for at least two other reasons: because they throw light upon the Greek religion of their time and because they are instructive about the religious syncretism of Graeco-Roman Egypt, its nature and implications. It is with the last point that this article is concerned, and especially with the Christian attitude to magic as revealed by the papyri.

'There were no such watertight compartments dividing the religions of late antiquity as we are apt to suppose.'³ It is, therefore, not surprising to find that Christian and Jewish prayers, quotations and sacred names appear cheek by jowl with their Egyptian, Greek and Babylonian counterparts. The author of one particularly interesting example of this syncretism⁴ is plainly anxious to include as many *δυνάμεις* as possible in the briefest possible compass, for he includes a selection of heathen, Jewish and Christian elements in his brief invocation. For us the insertion of an appeal to Jesus Christ is of especial interest.⁵ St. Michael too appears, as he does in a number of magical papyri, in which long lists of saints, angels and archangels are always comparatively common, as they are in other spheres of religion. 'The names of angels', writes Professor Eitrem,⁶ 'possessed great magic powers amongst heathen as well as Christians', and he goes on to compare their importance with the epithets of God amongst the Mohammedans, ninety-nine of which had a particular efficacy. In a fifth-century amulet⁷ designed to ward off fever and 'other ills', several *ἄγιοι* are appealed to: Sts. John the Divine, Serenus, Philoxenus, Victor, Justus. But not satisfied with the completeness of the list, the writer added 'and all the Saints', so as to be on the safe side! The occurrence of the Virgin Mary and the Holy Ghost is also frequent. One Gnostic charm⁸ consists entirely of a symmetrical arrangement of the elements *Ἰησοῦ πατὴρ, υἱός, μήτηρ Χριστοῦ*, and *πνεῦμα ἅγιος* [*sic*], joined by a cross and augmented by the Greek vowels, except, possibly, *ε*, with the Gnostic title of the Supreme Being, *Ἀβρααῶξ*, at the bottom to round it off, as it were. The *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* is used in conjunction with *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* in the purely Christian formula already mentioned,⁹ in which the opening verses of St. John's Gospel are cited, the Virgin and Saints invoked, and the evil spirit exorcized.

It is clear, then, that the main formal difference between Christian and pagan magic was one of nomenclature, a substitution of Christian for pagan both in the *δυνάμεις* invoked and in the automatic charms utilized. As examples of the latter we have already noticed the Gospel of St. John, the symbol of the Cross, and the seven mystic vowels,

¹ Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, tr. Strachan (London, 1910), 249, quotes Acts XIX, 19.

² *Greek Piety* (Oxford, 1948), 174.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ POxy. VIII, 1152; cf. VII, 1060.

⁵ Cf. PGM IV, 3019 ff. (I, 170).

⁶ POslo I, p. 79, on col. vi, 171 ff.

⁷ POxy. VIII, 1151, 41 ff. Cf. PPrinc. III, 159, addressed to 'the good angels who rule over us all'.

⁸ POxy. VI, 924, 15 ff.

⁹ POxy. VIII, 1151, 41 ff.

the last-named, of course, not being peculiar to Christianity. The XC Psalm¹ and the Lord's Prayer² were also regarded as having considerable efficacy, for obvious reasons, and so, to a lesser degree, were St. Matthew's Gospel³ and the Book of Proverbs.⁴ The papyrus mentioned as containing the XC Psalm is one of the worst spelled and most carelessly written of all the magical fragments, many of which were not above reproach in this respect and betrayed many faults of illiteracy and ignorance, faults intelligible enough if it is remembered that it is for the lower classes that the magical arts have greatest appeal. It ends with ἀλληλούια and an invocation of the four evangelists.

But, for all this, it must not be assumed that the Christian attitude to magic⁵ was mainly friendly and conciliatory. What is surprising is not that Christian elements are discoverable in the magical papyri but that they are so few, considering that Christianity was the predominant religion of the period. Nilsson⁶ has explained this apparent paradox by attributing it to the innate hostility of Christianity to magicians, right from the beginning, and its essential unproductivity for their purposes, which was even more important. It accepted the belief in δαίμονες but it called them 'evil' δαίμονες and sought only to exorcize them and combat their power for evil by arraying the powers of good against them. To the magicians, Christ was only one among many δυνάμεις and the Christian God was to be ranked alongside Zeus, Helios and others of the lesser magical deities; to the Christians, Christ was the most powerful of mediators and there was one God. Gnosticism and orthodox Christianity must not be confused in their treatment of magic, for Gnosticism had in this respect more affinity with Hermetism than with Christianity. It stood on that narrow border that separates religion from occultism and into its magical formulae it drew all the powers of darkness that true Christianity sought to overcome.⁷ In one badly spelled Gnostic invocation⁸ the Deity is evoked under various names, of which several are non-Greek and some quite unintelligible to us—'Ελούειν, 'Ηλουαί, Σαπειφνήπ, Τιαρκαμικειντεν κτλ.⁹ In the text also appear 'Ηλιος and 'Οπίανος and the undisputably Gnostic Ἀβραάξ.¹⁰ But in another example,¹¹ the relationship with Christianity is much more easily discerned: in a charm against reptiles and 'other ills', which begins with τὴν θύραν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην and continues with the gradual diminution of Ἀφροδίτην,¹² there is an invocation of Ἰαὼ *inter alios*¹³ and a reference to St. Phocas, the Syrian Martyr. Thus, there are degrees, so to speak, of Christianity in magic, and a line over which Christians would not pass, and could not, if they were to remain in the body of the Church. Magic was a means, not an end, to Christianity, and as a means it was accepted—but only so long as its acceptance did not

¹ POxy. xvi, 1928. Cf. PRyl. 3; Stud. Pal. xx, 294; PSI 719; PPrinc. II, 107. For the use of psalms in magical papyri generally see Collart, *Aegyptus*, XIII, 209 ff.; Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, xx, 365 ff.; Kortenteutel-Böhlig, *Aegyptus*, xv, 418.

² BGU 954; PPrinc. II, 107.

³ POxy. VIII, 1077.

⁴ PSI 1297. Isaiah vi, 3 is also quoted in PPrinc. II, 107.

⁵ Christians did not deny its powers but they condemned its use by members of their own sect. See, e.g., Tert. Apol. 35.

⁶ *Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Lund, 1948), 35.

⁷ Cf. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, I, 125.

⁹ Cf. BGU 1026, xxiii.

¹⁰ Cf. POxy. XII, 1566.

¹¹ POxy. VII, 1060.

¹² Cf. BGU 956.

¹³ See Nock, op. cit., 62, 63, III.

involve a denial of the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith. The attitude of the Gnostics represented a compromise which cost them their membership of the Church.¹ The subsequent history of the influence of magic, particularly of demonology, on that Church lies outside the purview of this article, and it is sufficient for our purpose to notice that this influence began with the beginnings of the religion and is well testified to by the magical papyri, those monuments to popular religious syncretism.

From earliest times, Greek deities, both Chthonic and Olympian, had been invested with healing powers and, in addition, cults arose in connexion with certain deceased physicians. The most powerful of these was the cult of Asclepius, a deified hero. Now the syncretistic cult of Sarapis borrowed the healing function of Asclepius as one of its divine attributes and, like Asclepius, Sarapis was the God of Health—though he was much more besides—and operated in very much the same way.² He too worked miracles of healing;³ he too, in order to effect his cures, made use of *incubatio* or *Tempelschlaf*, so well known to us from the cult of Asclepius, and Strabo⁴ testifies to the Serapeum at Canopus, in which it was the custom to sleep, in order to obtain a cure for one's own sickness or that of another. So close was the connexion between Asclepius and Sarapis that Imouthes,⁵ the Egyptian Imhotep, commonly identified with Asclepius, having been also a historical person before his death and deification, formed one of the circle of deities round Sarapis at Memphis. Farnell points out⁶ that, whereas such cults combined the scientific with the miraculous, 'it was easier for the new religion (sc. Christianity) to adopt and foster the miraculous than the scientific tradition'.

However that may be, Christianity found here again a clamant popular need which it had to satisfy. Papyri show two ways in which it set about the task. First, the Christian God and His Son became the only Gods of Healing. A Christian amulet,⁷ already cited in another connexion, invokes the 'Son and Word of the Living God, who heals every sickness and every infirmity'. To us, immersed in the Christian tradition, this is no novelty; the New Testament bears ample testimony to the belief in Jesus Christ as a healer of the sick. But it is interesting to remark how, once again, Christianity found itself trying to supply the deficiencies caused, or likely to be caused, by the removal or displacement of the pagan gods. This deficiency, a theological deficiency which was supplied by clothing the new objects of worship in the attributes stripped from the old, was not as important as the practical one, the need for medical practitioners and hospitals, both of which had derived naturally from the cults of Asclepius and Sarapis. Some of the more important shrines of healing continued to exist even after the establishment of Christianity.⁸ But the majority would disappear as competition increased.⁹

The answer presented itself along with the problem; the material was again ready to hand. Just as the temples of pagan healing deities had their sanatoria to which the sick

¹ For other typical Gnostic amulets cf. POxy. XII, 1478; CPR 2, 12; PPrinc. II, 107; III, 159. For Christian charms cf. BGU 944-5, and for their pagan counterpart see BGU 956 and PTebt. 275.

² RE, s.v. Sarapis, V, c, 5.

³ Suet. Vesp. 7; Tac. Hist. IV, 81; cf. Plut. Alex. 76.

⁴ XVII, 1, 17.

⁵ For his healing powers see POxy. XI, 1381; cf. 1382 for Sarapis.

⁶ Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (Oxford, 1921), 275, quoting Arnobius, Adv. Nat. I, 48-9.

⁷ POxy. VIII, 1151.

⁸ E.g. the Asclepieium at Cos. Farnell, op. cit., 274 f.

⁹ For Christian *incubatio* see Deubner, De Incubatione (Leipzig, 1900), ch. iv; M. Hamilton, Incubation etc. (St. Andrews, 1906), 109-233.

could resort for treatment and attention at the hands of the priests of the god, so the counterparts of these institutions sprang up alongside the Christian churches and monasteries, and the Church undertook a responsibility for essential social services which it has never since relinquished. νοσοκομεία¹ was the name given to these 'hospitals' and we find reference to one, situated near to the (presumably) church of St. Nilus, in a receipt² acknowledging a charitable benefaction by the heirs of Flavius Apion. In other fragments,³ written by the same hand, dated the same day and in the same manner, a charitable foundation described as the 'widows of St. Michael' is mentioned, together with the 'widows of St. Victor' and the 'widows of Sts. Cosmas and Lamianus', as the recipient of a quantity of wine. It might be objected that these illustrations are too late in chronology to have any bearing upon the development of the history of Christian νοσοκομεία. But surely it is more reasonable to hold to a gradual evolution or Christianization of νοσοκομεία in answer to a current need than to assume their sudden emergence out of the blue at a time when Christianity was already the dominant religion. There is, in fact, ample evidence, both within and without the papyri, for the attribution of healing powers to anchorites.⁴ For example, the letters to Paphnutius⁵ contain several appeals addressed to that holy recluse by men and women of the highest station in life and entreating his help in sickness of mind and body. 'Remember us in your prayers; for if your holiness continues so to do, it will be our lot everywhere to be in good health', writes an Athanasius,⁶ who may conceivably be St. Athanasius. Another⁷ asks through an amanuensis not only for prayer but also for ελαιον, a practical approach which might suggest that the anchorite's powers were not confined to the realm of spiritual measures.⁸ All this provides adequate testimony for the importance of the ascetic as healer⁹ and, moreover, leaves more than a suspicion in the mind that the Christian 'hospital' may have developed from the ever-growing circles of adherents who gathered about the *cella* of the anchorite to seek his help for the cure of their bodily infirmities.

With the growth of Christianity in Egypt, as elsewhere, there came, then, a corresponding growth in the responsibility of the Church. The administration of ecclesiastical property became an especial problem, to which there are many references in the papyri. A contract,¹⁰ dated A.D. 573 and made by the προνοητής¹¹ of the 'holy church', arranged for the management of an entire village, evidently included in the church's domains. A sixth-century letter¹² to a man named John from his friend entreats his help

¹ Sophocles cites six examples in Byzantine authors. The earliest example in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* is late fourth or early fifth century—PSI 84, 16.

² POxy. xvi, 1898, 19, 20. Cf. SB 4869, 3; PLond. 1028, 16; PAmh. 154, 2, 8.

³ POxy. xvi, 1954, 1955, 1956.

⁴ For an estimate of their place in Byzantine life and thought see Baynes, *The Thought-World of East Rome* (Oxford, 1947), 7 f., 34 ff.

⁵ PJews, 1923-9.

⁶ PJews, 1929.

⁷ In PJews, 1928.

⁸ The text is too badly mutilated to admit of certainty.

⁹ τῶν γὰρ ἀσκούντων καὶ θρησκευόντων ἀποκαλύματα δικνέοντε, PJews, 1926, 9.

¹⁰ POxy. xvi, 1894.

¹¹ A secular term adopted, cf. POxy. xvi, 1950. For the elaborate organization of church property see Bell on PLond. 1782, 1.

¹² POxy. vi, 941.

in obtaining a piece of ground for brickmaking from the *οἰκονόμος*, or steward, of the Church of St. Justus. Earlier than that, there is an extract¹ from a receipt addressed to a chief steward from a labourer on one of the Church's holdings at Colotes near Oxyrhynchus. All this points to a semi-feudal administration and the impression is strengthened by the endowment, maintenance, and even control of churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical property by the greater families, e.g. the Apion family, dating, for the most part, from the sixth century.² Bequests made by this family to the church-controlled institutions have already been noted, and on the verso of a papyrus³ probably belonging to the Apion archives there is an account of the general expenditure on the Tarousebt estate, which includes a payment *εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀββᾶ Ἱερακίωνος*. Elsewhere,⁴ the 'gatekeeper of St. John', which is either a church or a monastery, comes in for a payment of wine from the butler of a *comes*.

By this extension of its sphere of influence the Christian Church now bade fair to rival even the most powerful of the hieratic systems of the past. In Egypt, of course, the seeds of power had been there all the time—amongst the priests of Ptah in Memphis, of Amen-Rē in Thebes, of Horus in Apollinopolis, for example⁵—and, under the tolerant policy of the Ptolemies and encouraged by their lymphatic indifference of later days, the priests had increased their secular power and with it their influence throughout Egypt.⁶ It was only the central authority, at once strengthening and controlling its members, which was needed; this the Christian Church⁷ was not slow to provide. And, as the great families became more and more entangled in ecclesiastical affairs, so the dominion of the Church itself widened, until we find it entrusted with the most secular aspects of local administration. The Church came to be regarded, for instance, as generally responsible for the maintenance and organization of the bread supply to the poor.⁸ This tendency to invest the Church with secular powers blunted the distinction between the religious and secular authorities. 'Clerics occur not infrequently in secular occupations', as Bell and Roberts point out,⁹ and this was not altogether a desirable development for either side.¹⁰ Bishops and other dignitaries are commonly mentioned in connexion with the trivial affairs of everyday life; one is even asked to give his ruling on the price of transport for camels.¹¹ They assumed various judicial functions,¹² some

¹ POxy. xvi, 1900.

² See Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (Oxford, 1948), 121 ff.; id., *The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt*, in *JEA* 4, 86 ff., *passim*.

³ POxy. vii, 1053, 23.

⁴ POxy. i, 141, 3.

⁵ Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt* (London, 1949), 214.

⁶ For bibliography see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton, 1938), 238 f.

⁷ N.B. There was no Mithraic, no Isiac Church. The efficiency of church organization, itself based on the imperial system, may be gauged by the attempt of Maximin to imitate it in his abortive scheme to reinstate paganism in the Eastern Empire.

⁸ POxy. xvi, 1952. Cf. PJews, 1914, 48–50.

⁹ On PMert. i, 44, 1. Cf. POxy. i, 136, 7.

¹⁰ Attempts were soon made to prevent it, e.g. by the *ἀντίγραφον* of Licinius in Eus. *HE* x, 7, and Constantine's letter to the proconsul of Africa quoted in A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine the Great and the Conversion of Europe* (London, 1948), 83.

¹¹ POxy. xvi, 1871. Cf. 1848; 1911, 52, 92, 94; PPrinc. ii, 82, in which a bishop, two presbyters, and a deacon are parties to a *διάλυσις*.

¹² PLips. 43. Cf. Cod. Theod. i, 27, 1, and Jones, *op. cit.*, 99, 217 f. For clergy as arbitrators see PMon. i, 14.

of which would seem to have been delegated to their subordinates.¹ Coming events cast their shadows before them in one papyrus of the fifth century² which records a marriage ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων. So, even at this early stage of its history, the hands of the Church's officials are becoming soiled with the dirt of everyday life and the way is made clear for the warrior-priest and the ecclesiastic-politician.

Finally, it is worth noticing that Christianity often took over the temples themselves. There is good evidence of churches which were, in reality, converted temples, at Oxyrhynchus.³ Even more significant perhaps is the practice of naming the new churches after the old temples,⁴ and, sometimes, after the deities who were worshipped in them.⁵

The process of assimilation was not confined to the institutions and customs of paganism but extended to the field of religious terminology. Now religions, in their early stages, do not seek to express a precise theology. Their concern is with the strengthening of the ties of belief and communion, their primary aim to win the struggle for existence. Formal theology is a later development, the child of established religion, belonging to the phase of consolidation, not of formation, and it consciously avoids, wherever possible, resemblances with the older religions which surround it and tend to impress themselves upon it. Its aim is exact definition. To achieve that aim, it creates a fresh terminology which will distinguish it from lesser creeds without the law. Our concern is not with the creation of this theological vocabulary by a handful of scholars but with that earlier, popular phraseology familiar to the humblest Christian and handed on from one generation to another, so that traces of its survival are still clear in the papyri of a much later period. Here too we find Christianity borrowing, appropriating. It was most natural that, when early Christians tried to describe their God, they turned to the pagan cults for their modes of expression. This is not imitation in the strict sense but inevitable similarity.

The ancient cult of Apis had supplied one of the Egyptian elements in the syncretistic cult of Sarapis,⁶ and the Apis Bull had been buried at Memphis in its burial-ground west of the city from the time of Amenophis II. The excavations here of a later Serapeum revealed *inter alia* the name 'Apis, the Living, Osiris' for a Bull buried in the reign of Amenophis III; under Dyn. XXV the description 'Apis the Living' again appears. Christianity, another religion centred upon a resurrected God whose death was at once a symbol and an act of redemption for His followers, employed the same term; one example of its use has already been quoted.⁷ Another occurs in a Christian charm⁸ of distinctly Gnostic flavour, in which the petitioner describes herself as 'servant (lit. slave) of the Living God'.⁹ In fact, the expression becomes more common in Christianity than in paganism and admits of further extension, for the phrase ζῆ κύριος, which

¹ Cod. Theod. iv, 7, 1. Cf. Cod. Just. i, 13, 1, and see Lietzmann in *CAH* xii, 694.

² POxy. vi, 903.

³ POxy. i, 43, verso l. 22; xiv, 1683, 19, 20.

⁴ PMert. i, 41, 12. Cf. POxy. viii, 1115—ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἀγούστου (at Alexandria)—and the editors' note ad loc.

⁵ POxy. xiii, 1910, 3. Cf. PLond. 1419, 392.

⁶ Recent articles on the origin and nature of this cult are: Youtie, *Harvard Theological Review*, 41, 9 ff.; Kiessling, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 48, 317 ff. See too Jouguet, *Trois études sur l'hellénisme* (Cairo, 1944), 120 ff.

⁷ POxy. viii, 1151, 24.

⁸ POxy. vi, 924, 11.

⁹ Cf. Daniel vi, 20, 26.

appears frequently in the Septuagint,¹ is often found in the papyri² as an asseveration inserted parenthetically, almost conventionally. Another variation on the original theme is ζῆ θεός.³ Of course, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the influence of the Septuagint itself explains the popularity of this phrase in early Christianity, but the similarity in the ideas fundamental to both Christianity and certain pagan cults is undeniably illustrated by it.⁴

The word κύριος was universally adopted by Christians, who seem to have had no aversion to the use of a word so commonly employed to describe pagan deities.⁵ Nor is there any valid reason why they should have had, since Jesus Christ was their Lord, just as Sarapis was the Lord of his worshippers. κύριος, therefore, in the papyri is, like the singular ὁ θεός⁶ or even θεός,⁷ not a reliable indication of the religious beliefs of the writer, despite Ghedini's assumption to the contrary.⁸ The use of the compendia κ̄, θ̄, however, puts us on much more certain ground. For example, Grenfell and Hunt were quite prepared to accept as of Christian origin a letter of the late third or early fourth century⁹ on the strength of παρὰ τῷ κ̄ω θεῷ; whereas a similarly phrased letter from parents to son of the fourth century,¹⁰ which has παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ in full, falls between two stools. Of course, even here anomalies must be expected, since the Jews may possibly not have been quite as antagonistic to such *nomina sacra* as κ̄, θ̄ as to ῑ, and an additional warning against the too ready acceptance of them in letters of an early period as *a priori* Christian (or *vice-versa*) is given by an examination of the verbose letter to Apa Paiêous,¹¹ dated c. A.D. 330-40, in which they are subjected to strange treatment. The standard contractions are absent but the horizontal stroke is there all the same, sometimes duplicated, suggesting, as Traube hinted,¹² that the compendia were not perfectly understood at this stage by less literate writers.

An equally ambiguous term common to both pagan and Christian is σὺν θεῷ.¹³ It is usually safe to assume that the great majority of instances occurring in letters, etc., dated to the sixth century or later are Christian. From an examination of fifty-three such instances in the Oxyrhynchus papyri it would appear that there are three ways in which σὺν θεῷ is used. Twenty-eight of these examples of its use¹⁴ have what one might call the purely conventional meaning of 'by the grace of God' and are employed almost as an additional name or title. In a business letter of the sixth century,¹⁵ the phrases σὺν θεῷ ἀδελφῷ and Βίκτωρ σὺν θεῷ are found with this meaning; in another,¹⁶ a physician is

¹ E.g. Judges VIII, 12.

² E.g. POxy. VI, 943.

³ POxy. XVI, 1874, 12.

⁴ For its pagan use cf. PPar. 574, 1038.

⁵ E.g. SB V, 8006. Cf. Deissmann, op. cit., 353 ff.

⁶ SB III, 7242; PMich. III, 213.

⁷ SB III, 6222.

⁸ In his *Lettere Cristiane dai papiri greci del III e IV secolo* (Milan, 1923), on which see Bell, *Harvard Theological Review*, 37, 192 ff.

⁹ POxy. XII, 1493. Cf. 1495, where both κύριος and θεός are contracted; XIV, 1774, 2 for ἐν κ̄ω.

¹⁰ POxy. X, 1299. So too PPrinc. II, 73 (third century).

¹¹ PJews, 1917.

¹² *Nomina Sacra*, 49 f.

¹³ Often σὺν θεοῖς, of course, in pagan usage, as in POxy. XII, 1482, 9; XIV, 1760, 15. For the pagan σὺν θεῷ cf. POxy. IX, 1220, 24; XIV, 1763, 11.

¹⁴ Viz. I, 138, 8; 138, 15; 140, 11; 156, 5; XVI, 1835, 10; 1838, 6; 1844, 6; 1845, 6; 1846, 5; 1847, 6; 1848, 9; 1849, 4; 1850, 3; 1851, 5; 1852, 4; 1853, 9; 1854, 13; 1855, 19; 1856, 8; 1860, 16; 1861, 3; 1869, 21; 1937, 9; 1997, 2; 2002, 1; and the exx. in the two notes following.

¹⁵ POxy. VI, 943.

¹⁶ POxy. I, 126, 23.

referred to as *Μαρκὸς σὺν θεῷ ἰατρός*. Also conventional but with a slightly altered connotation, like our 'D.V.' or 'with God's help', is another example in the same letter, *τῆς σὺν θεῷ εἰσιούσης ἔκτης ἐπινεμήσεως*.¹ With this, the usual meaning in pagan associations,² nineteen similar cases may be compared.³ But there is yet a third shade of meaning which *σὺν θεῷ* can bear and which is more significant as evidence of true religious feeling. It can be seen in a phrase like *ὀφείλοντος σὺν θεῷ παραγένεσθαι*,⁴ which the editors translate 'being obliged, by the grace of God, to arrive'. The difficulties of the translator are here obvious, but this instance is, for all that, not to be classified with either of the conventional uses described above; it is not an additional title nor is it equivalent to 'D.V.' It refers to a past event necessitated by the will and action of God. Amongst our examples, there are four more⁵ which fall outside the two main categories. One of them, in a letter of deeply religious tone,⁶ is *σὺν θεῷ εὐχομένου* or 'praying with God's help', which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called conventional. Here we have an expression of real piety.⁷

Other expressions, for the greater part conventional and equivalent to our 'D.V.', are almost identical with their pagan counterparts, e.g. *θεοῦ θέλοντος*, *θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος*, *βουλῆσει θεοῦ*. But, in one early Christian letter, the first is given a conditional sense—*εἰν' οὕτως θεοῦ θέλοντος τάχα τει πραταῖον γένηται*⁸—and conditional too is the use of the second in another fourth-century letter—*εἰδότες ὅτι ἔχετέ με ἰς ὅσ' ἂν πάσχετε, θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος*.⁹ Speaking generally, however, such phrases are taken over as a heritage from paganism and fall into automatic use without emphasis upon, or analysis of, their fundamental significance.

Pagan terms were also employed to designate some Christian festivals. Naturally enough, the word *ἐορτή* itself is frequently borrowed, with the addition of *ἀγία* to denote its essential difference from the pagan festival.¹⁰ Again, the *Θεοφάνια* (sc. *ἱερά*) was originally a Delphic festival at which the statues of Apollo and other gods were 'shown' to the people;¹¹ in Christian usage, it reappears as the Epiphany, as in a business letter, apparently enclosed with a present of fish for consumption at the feast, which is described as *πανήγυρις τῶν ἀγίων θεοφανίων*.¹² An interesting example of this process of assimilation is the word *γενέθλια*. In pagan papyri, unlike the Greek literature of the classical period, it is used almost exclusively of the birthday of a god or semi-divine personage, as opposed to *γενέσια*.¹³ Transferred from its pagan associations, it may be used of Christmas or the birthday of a saint, or of the anniversary of his or her

¹ POxy. I, 126, 10.

² See Bell, *JEA* 34, 89.

³ Viz. I, 133, 14, 20; 136, 14; 137, 23; VII, 1038, 18; XVI, 1887, 14; 1890, 5; 1891, 13; 1896, 19; 1897, 8; 1898, 23; 1965, 11; 1977, 7; 1985, 22; 1987, 26; 1988, 29; 1989, 22; 2009, 3; 2039, 1.

⁴ POxy. VI, 942, 4.

⁵ POxy. VII, 1072, 12; XVI, 1865, 7; 1868, 10; 1870, 24.

⁶ XVI, 1865.

⁷ Cf. *ὅταν ἔλθῃ σὺν θεῷ* in the letter of Psenosiris, PGrenf. II, 73, 16.

⁸ POxy. XII, 1494, 3.

⁹ PFay. 136, 3.

¹⁰ POxy. XVI, 1933, 10. But without *ἀγία* in PLond. 1036, 8; PSI 63, 26. For its pagan use see especially PHibeh 27, where it is used ten times.

¹¹ Hdt. I, 51; Poll. I, 34; SIG 1064, 3 (at Chios).

¹² POxy. XVI, 1857, 5.

¹³ For some pagan uses of *γενέθλια* see POxy. I, 112, 4 (though the reading *Θεωνος* [sic] instead of *θεοῦ* has been suggested here); VII, 1025, 14; PHibeh 27, 205. For *γενέσια* see POxy. III, 521 verso. For a full discussion see Eitrem on POSlo III, 77, 12.

death. In an account of expenditure¹ γενέθλια Ἀπα Ἰωάννου and γενέθλια Εὐτροπίας are cited, and the editors supply cogent arguments for regarding both as the festivals of saints, in the former case St. John the Baptist and, in the latter, the St. Eutropia who perished in the Decian Persecutions. It is clear that the word was adopted by Christianity and used in approximately the same sense, *mutatis mutandis*, as it had been in paganism.

Some of the contrasts and new features introduced by Christianity have already come to our notice, but the question of vocabulary in general has not been exhausted. One point calls for especial mention, leading on, as it does, to discussion of the new (Christian) conception of the divine-human relationship. In the papyri which were written by Christians the new vocabulary acquired from the Septuagint and the New Testament is everywhere reflected. Nor is the similarity entirely explicable by the use, in both papyri and scriptures, of the same dialect, the κοινή, giving to both the same general framework of language. The current dialect, wedded to the idiom of the New Testament, in particular, is enriched by the infusion of new metaphors, combinations of phrase and modes of thought. Pagan intellectuals had been able to express themselves in terms of their relationship with their god or gods. But between them and the uneducated masses had been fixed a great gulf, which the one section did not desire, and the other did not know how, to cross. The chief reason for this dichotomy was the lack of a sacred book which would link the learned and the ignorant. Of course, there were contributory factors: cults like those of Isis and Mithra tended to be esoteric and expensive. The leaders of the Christian Church, on the other hand, made no distinction between rich and poor, educated and uneducated. Their purpose was the conversion, first of Jewry, then of the world, and, as a potent aid in its achievement, they had a collection of beautiful, but simple, literature which the preacher's voice could make available to even the humblest.² The scriptures became popular and everyday vocabulary was leavened with scriptural terms.

Thus presented with a ready-made terminology, the common man found himself able, if admitted to the Christian brotherhood, to express even 'thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears' in words not unworthy of the emotions by which they were inspired. The most precious possession which this newly acquired ability conferred upon him was a vastly improved technique of prayer, the spiritual medium through which the true worshipper is united with the object of his worship and the most satisfying of all religious experiences for those who can avail themselves of it. At this early stage, unfortunately, Christians did not commit whole prayers—except the Lord's Prayer, of course—to writing, so that our evidence is confined to the content of the sometimes conventional prayers inserted in private or business letters. The customary formula is ἐπρώσθαι σε (or ὑμᾶς) εὐχομαι,³ which, although it does not often occur before the third century,⁴ is pagan in origin for all that.⁵ In Christian letters it is variously expanded by

¹ PMert. 1, 40, 5, 6.

² For a Christian homily whose author evidently knew his Bible by heart see PBour. 3, and cf. PBour. 4.

³ PFay. 125, 14; 129, 9; 133, 16; 135, 17; 136, 11.

⁴ But cf. PFay. 117, 27, dated to A.D. 108.

⁵ Cf. PGiss. 76, 11; 41, 8.

the addition of scriptural phrases, such as *διὰ παντός καὶ ἐν παντί* in one of the earliest,¹ which contains other typical Christian phrases and in which the writer twice addresses his son as *ἱερός υἱός*. Another equally illuminating short prayer is 'O God of the crosses which are laid upon us, help thy servant',² explained by Moulton and Milligan³ as a reference to God as 'at once the sender and mitigator of trials' and an intriguing development of the command of Jesus Christ⁴—*ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν*.⁵

Nor is the influence of biblical phraseology confined to prayers. A badly mutilated letter of condolence,⁶ written in extremely vulgar Greek, erratic in spelling and employing a coarse semi-cursive, also presents many echoes, e.g. 'He gave and He hath taken away', 'to sing amongst them in paradise, when the souls of men are judged', and 'for they are gone away into Abraham's bosom'. Expressive too are business letters, particularly those of a later period; one,⁷ dealing with the non-fulfilment of leases, a most unspiritual topic, ends with 'But with God's help and by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ your darling son is in good condition'. The mere admission of sentiments such as these in business letters speaks volumes for Christian influence and its gradual permeation of every aspect of everyday life. But it was a practice that could lend itself to excess, and there is much that we find nauseating in many documents of the Byzantine era,⁸ so packed with compliments, pious reflections and effusive greetings that any message they might contain is, to all intents and purposes, obscured or altogether forgotten.

This gift of self-expression had a corollary in a new understanding of the personality of God and His relationship with man. Greek religion had been primarily a religion of local and national cults; only in the mystery-religions had there been evidence of real religious feeling and that had not been of the kind to admit of analysis. The pre-eminent conception in Egyptian religion seems to have been that of a strictly business relationship between the two parties to an agreement, a 'peculiarly Egyptian'⁹ attitude which, no doubt, persisted long after the triumph of Christianity, as in the fifth-century letter¹⁰ in which God is regarded as having rewarded human charity with divine and the lucky beneficiary is congratulated. But this aspect of the relationship was no longer the sole, or even the dominant, factor governing human action.

The unique contribution of the new religion to religious thought was its creation of the idea of a family of which the centre was God and the radii Christ and the Holy Spirit, whilst at the periphery stood the whole Christian community. The idea of universal brotherhood had been a commonplace of later Greek philosophy but that of divine fatherhood was a Christian development of Hebraism. One could not love an abstraction as a father; so, when Christianity preached the Fatherhood of God, it

¹ POxy. XII, 1492. Cf. PGrenf. II, 73, 21; SB I, 4323, 22; POxy. III, 527, 9; BGU 892, 96; POxy. VI, 939, 28.

² POxy. VII, 1058.

³ *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v. *σταυρός*.

⁴ Ev. Luk. ix, 23.

⁵ For the efficacy of the *Σταυρὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν* and its frequent affixation to letters, etc., cf. Pland. I, 16; PLips. I, 90, 10; and the ed. note on PJews, 1917, 6.

⁶ POxy. XVI, 1874. Cf. PPrinc. II, 102—*οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀθάνατος εἰ μὴ υἱὸς ὁ θεοῦ*.

⁷ POxy. XVI, 1868.

⁸ E.g. PJews, 1917, 1919.

⁹ See Bell, *JEA* 34, 96.

¹⁰ POxy. XVI, 1870. Cf. POxy. XVI, 1832, 5.

invested Him with a father's qualities, in addition to the philosophical attributes. The evidence of the papyri is eloquent upon this question.

God the Father is full of compassion¹ but He is also capable of displaying great displeasure at the errors and follies of His children. A formal deed² repudiating a betrothal speaks of 'actions which are pleasing neither to God nor to men'. The Meletian soldiers who were in the camp invaded by Athanasius's adherents hid in the store-chamber, 'having the fear of God in their hearts'.³ But God also shows the greatest possible forethought in directing the affairs of His children;⁴ his *πρόνοια* becomes proverbial: *ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστιν τὰ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ*,⁵ says one letter, and another, which is Christian at least in its phraseology,⁶ recommends the belief that (sc. *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοια*) *παρέξει τὸ μετὰ ὁλοκληρίας σε τὰ οἰκεία ἀπολαβεῖν*.⁷ Again, He assists them in practical undertakings: one correspondent invokes the help of 'God who comes to their aid' for the workers in his vineyard.⁸ But God can be the opposite of helpful, even capricious: so the writer of a receipt⁹ seems to think when he promises to transport the sums received to Alexandria 'apart from accidents from Heaven'—*δίχα θεοῦ βίας*, the use of *βία* giving a most intimate touch.¹⁰

Intimacy is the salient feature of the conception of the divine-human relationship as revealed to us by these few glimpses, intimacy best illustrated by an affectionately worded letter¹¹ from a slave to his master. The impression given is one of the closest possible understanding, resembling that between master and trusted dependent, than which there was no closer bond of affection in late antiquity: 'now is displayed still more clearly the regard¹² of the Lord God for you.' Like a Father and a kind master, God is depicted as responsible for each individual. *ὥς κε κατ' ὄνομα*, 'protect them each one individually', asks a short fifth-century prayer¹³ written in a rude hand and illiterate Greek.

The 'man in the street' attributed to God exactly those qualities which he considered to be fatherly. But he did not strip Him at the same time of those basic attributes which, *qua* god, he held in common with the gods of pagan philosophy. He was omnipotent and, in the name of the Son, could vanquish the mightiest of pagan deities, for even the Nile, a god of great antiquity and potency, succumbed to the power of Christ.¹⁴ Similarly, the Lord of All¹⁵ was pre-eminent, taking precedence over all other beings, superhuman or human. Not even the mightiest seigneur might challenge His primacy. One petition, from a man of Jewish descent, is addressed *τῷ ἐμῷ μετὰ θεὸν ἀγαθῷ δεσπότῃ*¹⁶ and the phrase *μετὰ θεόν* becomes the conventional, but necessary, qualification of mere mortal greatness.¹⁷

¹ POxy. I, 120, 15, 16, but the letter is not definitely Christian.

² POxy. I, 129, 5.

³ PJews, 1914, 12.

⁴ PJews, 1914, 36 f., is perhaps the best example, though the writer's view about the functions of Providence cannot be said to be disinterested!

⁵ POxy. XII, 1492, 19.

⁶ But see Bell, *JEA* 34, 90, citing POslo III, 148, 4, which carries the phrase back to the first or second century and confirms its pagan origin, viz. in Stoic doctrine.

⁷ POxy. XIV, 1682, 6.

⁸ POxy. XVI, 1859, 5.

⁹ POxy. I, 144.

¹⁰ The phrase is legal in origin and should not, perhaps, be pressed too far.

¹¹ POxy. VI, 939.

¹² *γνώσις*.

¹³ POxy. VII, 1059.

¹⁴ POxy. XVI, 1830, 6.

¹⁵ POxy. XVI, 1868, 10, 11.

¹⁶ POxy. I, 131, 1.

¹⁷ POxy. XVI, 1830, 6; 1857, 6; 1858, 7; 1861, 11; 1865, 15; 1939, 5; 1940, 6.

Whilst not at all depreciating His divinity, the increased understanding of God's personality brought in its train the idea that God was more closely connected and concerned with the daily round. Religion ceased to be remote, something to be sought, when needed, in temples or local shrines. It became a living reality, close at hand, accessible. It pervaded everyday routine, yet not as early Greek religion had done with its primitive, animistic approach. Christianity was not, like that and other forms of numinism, seeking to placate the unseen spirits with which the air and all around was filled; it was trying to introduce a personal God into the world of human persons. God could, as we have seen, be a powerful helpmate in dealing with such ordinary operations as vine-tending and irrigation, and He was not interested solely in the control of Nature, but even in business transactions as well. His name became a power to invoke, an *Eidesgarant*. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, the endorsement on the *verso* of a fourth-century business order,¹ is hardly conceivable as a reference to a pagan deity; men might acclaim Sarapis thus after the manifestation of some miraculous power but they were unlikely to use his name as a kind of password on business documents. The Christian God, however, is frequently invoked as witness:² $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\alpha\ \epsilon\chi\omega\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ³ is the cry of a harassed tax-official to his superior. In the same letter, $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \omicron\lambda\delta\epsilon\nu$ is inserted almost parenthetically, as it commonly is from the fourth century onwards, becoming as conventional as $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}$. Sometimes it appears in full as $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \omicron\lambda\delta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{o}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ⁴ or $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \omicron\lambda\delta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{o}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$,⁵ but more often as above in virtual parenthesis, with or without $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$.⁶ By the time the process of vulgarization is complete it is no more or less than our 'God knows!', although it is perhaps not fanciful to detect in its longer forms a remnant of real piety. Other asseverations, e.g. $\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ ⁷ and $\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$,⁸ are just as conventional, and it becomes increasingly clear that God is regarded as taking the place of a human witness⁹ and is liable to just as cavalier treatment in the end. So too, in an account¹⁰ in the George-Victor series, the 'Mother of God' is invoked almost as casually as Zeus is in the comedies of Aristophanes.

One usage is especially common, the symbol $\chi\mu\gamma$, the exact meaning of which is not settled but is agreed by all to be in some way derived from Christian theology or hagiology.¹¹ It is employed in all possible settings. In five examples,¹² out of sixteen examined, it heads an account, in two, a lease.¹³ Other documents in which it appears are a receipt for corn,¹⁴ a note of commons supplied to *singularii*,¹⁵ a letter concerning payments to a *βουθός*,¹⁶ an inventory,¹⁷ a letter to a cleric,¹⁸ a liturgical fragment,¹⁹ a Chris-

¹ POxy. VII, 1056.

² $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, PLond. 1244, 6.

³ PMert. I, 46, 11. Cf. POxy. VIII, 1164; PSI 49; PGen 14; PLond. 1674.

⁴ POxy. VI, 903, 37.

⁵ POxy. XVI, 1861, 4; 1868, 9.

⁶ POxy. VIII, 1165, 8; BGU 1035, 12; SB I, 4323, 8; PIand. 11, 10 (but this is not certainly Christian).

⁷ POxy. VI, 941, 8; cf. PSI 973.

⁸ POxy. XVI, 1859, 5.

⁹ See Seidl, *Der Eid in Römisch-Ägyptischen Provinzialrecht* (Munich, 1935), II, 47. For an interesting account of the Christianization of the official oath, *ibid.* 20 ff.

¹⁰ POxy. XVI, 1936, 15.

¹¹ See Ghedini, *op. cit.*, 283 f.; also Scott-Moncrieff, *op. cit.*, 119 f., for bibliography and summary of main views.

¹² POxy. VIII, 1130; X, 1289, 1328, 1343; XVI, 2053.

¹³ POxy. XVI, 1889, 1961.

¹⁴ POxy. XVI, 2003.

¹⁵ P. Oxy. XVI, 2007.

¹⁶ POxy. XVI, 1931.

¹⁷ POxy. XVI, 1923.

¹⁸ POxy. XVI, 1871.

¹⁹ POxy. XVI, 1927.

tian oracular prayer,¹ as well as the letter about the vintage already quoted² and a badly spelled letter from son to mother.³

But perhaps it is wrong to lay too great an emphasis on this kind of evidence, *vis-à-vis* the abundant testimony for the introduction by Christianity of a new spirit of comradeship. Although we find often, in matters of universal,⁴ as of purely domestic,⁵ interest that the new religion has sown seeds of bitter schism, this fulfilment of its Founder's prophecy⁶ is more than offset by the numerous acts of kindness and affection which illuminate all but the most prosaic papyri of this period and many of which would have been unthinkable under a pagan dispensation.⁷ It is significant that this sense of the word *ἀγάπη* does not seem to occur in the papyri before the sixth century. It was a new ingredient or, at least, one whose essence and potency earlier religions had overlooked. For Christianity, for all its adoption of pagan institutions and ideas, had also infused a good deal that was new into the old mixture. By kindling arid formalism into warm life and bringing its God into a closer relation with mundane matters, it encouraged the adoption of a religious attitude that was to stand the test of time and mitigate the worst effects of human folly and wickedness. For the early development of this attitude the evidence of the papyri is not the least important.

¹ POxy. xvi, 1926, where it is triplicated.

² POxy. vi, 940.

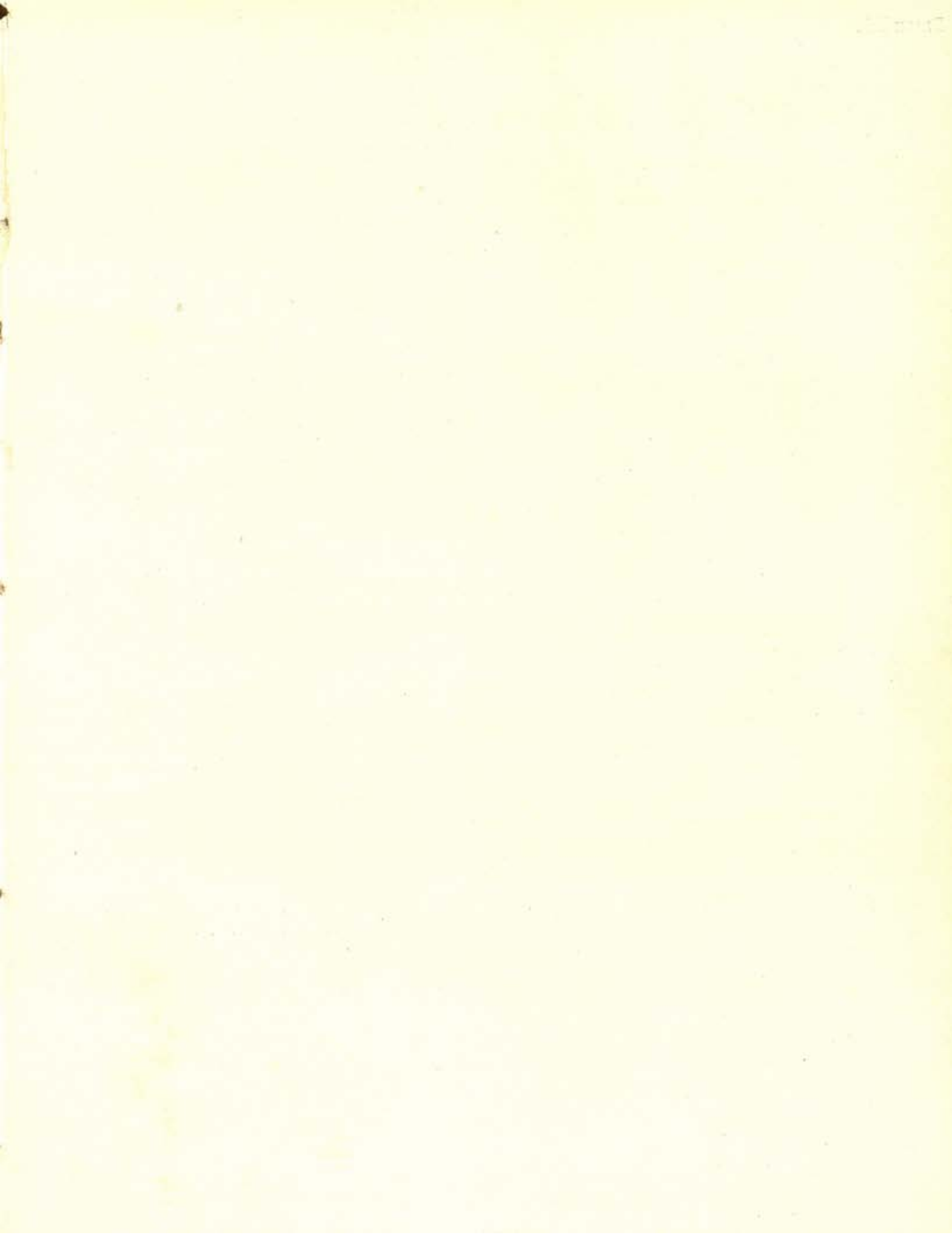
³ POxy. x, 1300.

⁴ PJews, 1914.

⁵ POxy. vi, 903, 19 ff.

⁶ Ev. Matth. x, 35.

⁷ E.g. PJews, 1915, 1916.



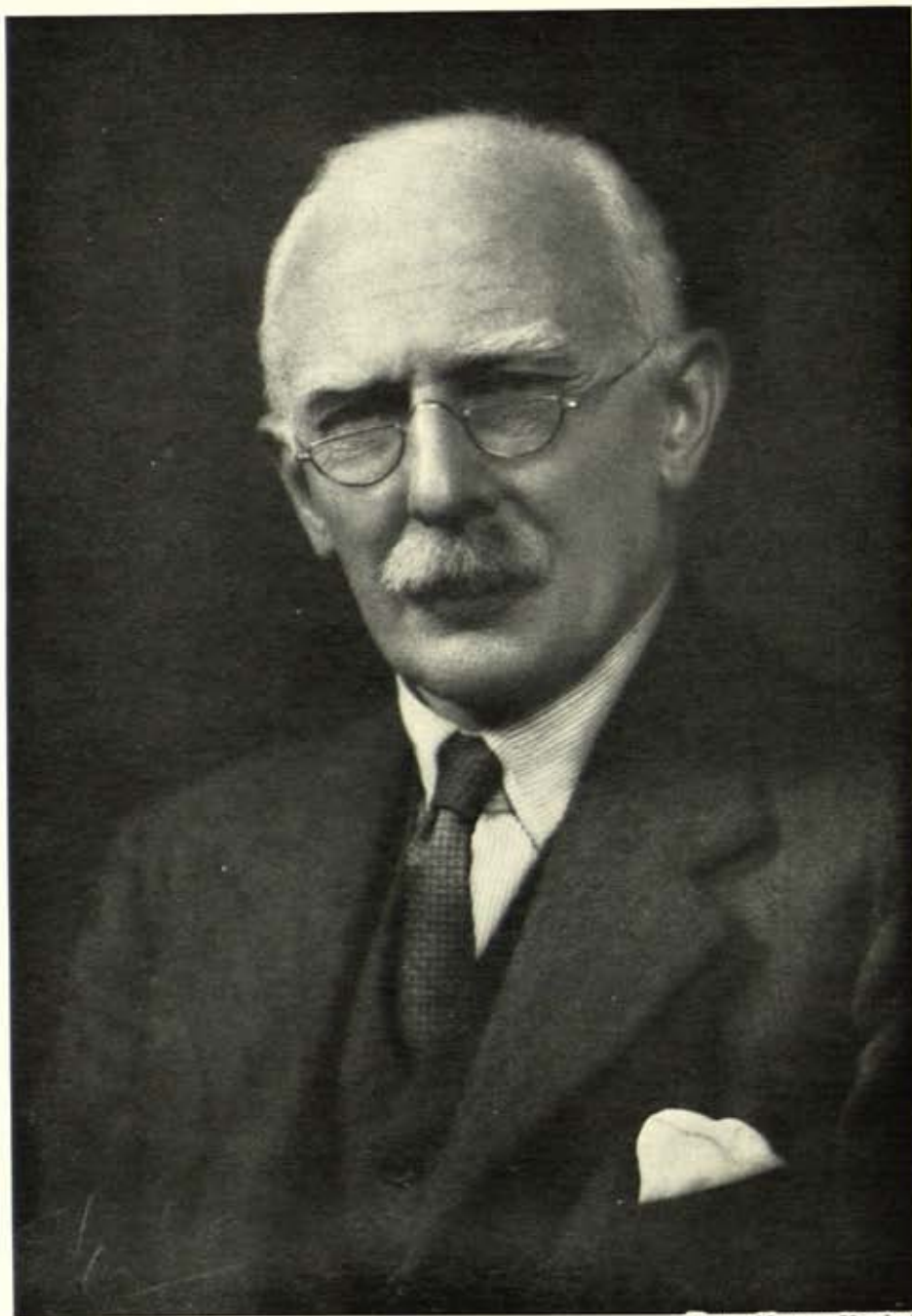


Photo: Navana-Vandyck

PERCY EDWARD NEWBERRY

PERCY EDWARD NEWBERRY, M.A., O.B.E.

THE passing of Professor Newberry on August 7, 1949, at the age of eighty, severs the link between the members of the Egypt Exploration Society of to-day and the original founders of the Egypt Exploration Fund—Amelia Edwards and Reginald Stuart Poole.

Percy Edward Newberry, the son of the late Henry James and Caroline Newberry of Ealing, was born April 23, 1869. He spent his boyhood in Chelsea and was educated at King's College School and King's College, London. Such was his formal education, but to a far greater degree he educated himself in all those subjects on which he later left his mark—botany, Egyptology, oriental textiles, and glass. He was drawn into Egyptology, as he told me recently, by his introduction in 1884 to Reginald Stuart Poole (1832–95), one of the founders and honorary secretaries of the Egypt Exploration Fund, who asked his assistance in the secretarial work of the Fund. Newberry readily responded, and he carried out his duties between 1884 and 1886 in Poole's official residence at the British Museum. Here he met and frequently conversed with Poole's mother, Sophia Poole (1804–91), who had lived many years in Egypt and was the sister of the famous Arabic scholar, Edward William Lane; here, too, he met Amelia Edwards, Flinders Petrie, and Griffith, so these early years were spent in a thoroughly 'Egyptianized' atmosphere. Newberry's knowledge of botany was immediately useful to Petrie, who had discovered many ancient floral remains during his excavations in the Fayyūm, and Newberry undertook the determination of the species and made a communication on the subject to the Bath meeting of the British Association in 1888 and contributed chapters to Petrie's *Hawara* (1889) and *Kahun* (1890).

Griffith had, at the annual meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1889, formulated his scheme for an Archaeological Survey of Egypt (*Ann. Rep.*, 1888–9, 11–24). The plan was immediately adopted by the Committee, and Miss Edwards, Poole, and others, having a first-hand knowledge of Newberry's enthusiasm and ability, at once placed him, young as he was, in charge of the expedition that began work at Beni Hasan and carried out surveys at El-Bersheh and other sites. He had as assistants George Willoughby Fraser and John Newberry (his brother), both of whom were architects, together with Marcus Blackden and Percy Buckman as draughtsmen. The well-known volumes which resulted, *Beni Hasan* and *El Bersheh*, are mainly Newberry's work, though Griffith, the editor, contributed largely to the inscriptional matter.

From 1895 to 1901 Newberry as a free-lance carried out a survey of the Theban Necropolis and superintended excavations financed by Lord Amherst of Hackney, the Marquis of Northampton, Miss Margaret Benson, Theodore M. Davis, Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, Mrs. Tytus, and others whose interest and support he had enlisted. He formed a grandiose plan to publish the principal Private Tombs, but the projected series began and ended with *The Life of Rekhmara*, which records about one-third of a single tomb. Newberry's work at Thebes continued for many years, but latterly he

was not attached to any particular expedition but gave his advice and assistance to many—those of the Earl of Carnarvon, Theodore Davis, and others. To the publications of these and other excavators he made valuable contributions.

In 1906 Newberry was appointed Brunner Professor of Egyptology at Liverpool University, and he held the chair until 1919. During that period he enrolled in the ranks of Egyptology many young students, including the late Professor Peet whose brilliant career was thus originated and who succeeded his professor in the same chair. On his resignation Newberry was appointed Honorary Reader in Egyptian Art at Liverpool, and in 1908 he had been elected a Fellow of King's College, London.

During the First World War Newberry sacrificed the comforts of his home and all his leisure to work at gauge-making in the workshops of the Goldsmiths' College at Deptford. Here he worked at the bench and took lodgings in the neighbourhood as an ordinary mechanic. After the war he resumed his old activities and commenced new ones: he was President of Section H of the British Association in 1923 and was a Vice-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1926. In 1929 he accepted the chair of Ancient History and Archaeology in the Egyptian University at Cairo, and continued in this post for four years. Shortly before his death he was elected a Vice-President of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Throughout his life Newberry was an indefatigable worker and he collected masses of material on the various phases of archaeology in which he was interested, but comparatively little of this valuable hoard has been published, and it must be confessed that his output is disappointingly small for one who had such wide knowledge and such ability to communicate it. This is not the place to set out a bibliography of Newberry's writings, but in addition to the works already mentioned and to contributions to various journals, reference may be made to his *Amherst Papyri*, to his *Scarabs*, to his three volumes on Scarabs, Seals, and Funerary Figurines in the Cairo Museum Catalogue, and to the chapters he contributed to the publications of Miss Benson, Lord Carnarvon, Theodore M. Davis, and Howard Carter. Towards the end of his life, the large quantity of valuable material that lay stored up in his note-books (and in his head, I may add) began, as he said, to weigh on his conscience. In a letter of May 1946 he wrote: 'I hope to survive long enough to produce one more book which will consist of Essays dealing with the Archaic Period and the history and archaeology of Egypt generally. It will have to be written out by hand like so many of Sethe's works and I am looking round for a clear calligraphist to do it.' How far this work had progressed in the meantime, I know not, but I hope a means may be found of publishing it, if the materials are in a sufficiently forward state.

Newberry was always most kind and helpful to all who came to him for information and advice, particularly to beginners and to Egyptologists at the outset of their careers. By travellers and collectors in Egypt his advice and assistance were also much in demand and always accessible. Many useful undertakings have been carried out and many valuable collections formed under his guidance. Indeed, far too much of his time when in Egypt was taken up by acting as guide, philosopher, and friend to many eminent visitors. The Consuls of the European Powers and the high officials of

the Egyptian Government constantly requested him to do the honours of the Nile Valley for distinguished visitors. He acted, for instance, as guide to Princess Beatrice and her party when they visited Egypt in 1904 and accompanied them as far as Aswān by river, and overland to the Red Sea Coast. One cannot but regret that the time so spent on these numerous expeditions could not have been devoted to productive research. But Newberry was too courteous and too kind-hearted to refuse any request that it was in his power to fulfil. He had profound knowledge of almost every notable collection of antiquities in Europe and America, both public and private, and was in constant touch with the movements of antiquities whether at public sales or in the hands of dealers.

To the very end of his long life Newberry maintained his enthusiasm and activity, and nothing but ill health or the conditions imposed by war could restrain him. In the Second World War, despite his advancing years, he again sacrificed his time and his comforts to National Service, first in the Ministry of Food and later in the Home Guard. He also gave up his house for a Nurses' Hostel and it was not until he regained possession of it after the war that he could have access again to his books and papers and return to his studies.

Newberry will occupy a lasting place in the annals of Egyptology and in the memories of his colleagues and friends: he was an Egyptologist *sui generis*.

WARREN R. DAWSON

BATTISCOMBE GEORGE GUNN

By the death on February 27 of Professor Battiscombe Gunn, Editor of this *Journal* from September 1935 to December 1939, those who were privileged to know him well have lost a most beloved friend, and Egyptology one of its greatest men.

Of the position which Gunn held in his study one might say, with Sinuhe, 'his face was set toward it since he was born'. The fascination of Egyptian writings won his mind while he was still at school; already at fourteen he had begun to read hieroglyphs. His early enthusiasm received no encouragement, and it was to be many years before circumstances would allow him to devote his full attention to the study to which he was to contribute so much. After a period of unhappiness in uncongenial work he found, in 1908, as private secretary to Sir Arthur Pinero, employment better suited to his tastes and temperament. Three years later he went to Paris, where for some time he worked as a journalist. There, to the literary and artistic circle in which his talents enabled him to live so easily, he must have seemed entirely in his element. But it had long been apparent that neither discouragement nor the diffusion of interest which is the besetting danger of versatile minds could divert him from his chosen study. Already in 1906 he had published his first book, *The Instruction of Ptahhotep*, which, although in the adventurous confidence of youth it attempted too much, was a great advance on previous attempts to translate that discouragingly difficult text. Its preface is most revealing; in it we see just which aspects of his subject were the first to appeal to him, and the spirit in which he approached it. No finer approach could be conceived.

Before he went to Paris he had made the acquaintance of the man with whom his name will always be linked. His connexion with Dr. (later Sir) Alan Gardiner was to be a most fruitful and lasting partnership. Henceforward, whenever the two friends were separated, frequent correspondence enabled them to collaborate; it continued when, in 1913, with the encouragement of Flinders Petrie, Gunn at last realized his ambition and visited Egypt. Here he worked with Engelbach at Harageh as epigraphist.¹ Having been invalided out of the army after a short period of service in 1914, Gunn joined Gardiner in London and worked there with him for some years. This work culminated in the production of Gunn's great contribution to the study of Egyptian grammar, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*. Before its publication in 1924 Gunn had left again for Egypt; after working with Woolley and Peet at Tell el-'Amārnah in 1921-2² he was appointed to a post in the Service des Antiquités; it was during this period that he co-operated with Firth at Saqqārah (in 1924).³ He was Assistant Keeper in the Cairo Museum from 1928 until 1931, when he went to the Philadelphia Museum as curator of the Egyptian section. Here he remained until 1934, when, upon the death of Professor T. E. Peet, he was elected as his successor to the Chair at Oxford.

It may be asked why, after such brilliant promise of production, Gunn's written

¹ See *Harageh*, B.S.A.E., 1923.

³ See *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 1926.

² See *The City of Akhenaten*, 1, 1923.



Photo: Gillman & Soame, Oxford

BATTISCOMBE GEORGE GUNN

contributions to his science were henceforward confined to brief but masterly articles and reviews in this *Journal* and elsewhere. The answer is twofold. Firstly, he felt that as a University teacher his chief duty was to his pupils. As the sole senior representative of his subject at Oxford he sometimes gave as many as a dozen classes a week, beside supervising the studies of advanced pupils. This was hard work, but no burden to Gunn; in his correspondence from Philadelphia we already find that he has made a new discovery—the secret of successful teaching. In this he was incomparable. His pupils never left him for long; they returned to him from the ends of the earth; and scholars visiting England were always glad to join his classes. Gunn's devotion to teaching was not the only way in which he showed himself unselfish; no scholar ever spent more time in assisting others to solve their difficulties and perfect their work. But those who submitted work to him did so on one condition: they must be prepared to conform to his standards of exact scholarship; and this was hard discipline. Egyptology has suffered much in the past from the crank and the amateur philologist. Gunn represented a salutary reaction from this. Speculation presented as fact, smooth approximate translations, wrong references, and inconsistencies in typography were all hateful to him; if he had a fault as a scholar it was a tendency to regard all sins against accuracy as equally atrocious. The standards of criticism which produced detailed, penetrating, and unmerciful reviews of other men's work were applied with even greater rigour to his own, and this too affected his output of publication. It is for these reasons that a bibliography of his work would at present be premature, for a considerable body of unfinished material remains to be worked over.

Gunn's scholarship was so stern and thorough, and his grasp of every branch of his study so complete, that it would not have been surprising if his contemporaries had found him narrow and rigid in his interests and relationships; but this was not so. His dry and acid wit was the delight of those who knew him. He spoke French, German, Italian, and Arabic fluently; even his closest friends do not know how many other languages he read. One might try, and fail, to find a subject on which he could not speak, and speak well, such was his interest in the whole world about him. He was ever receptive; the love of music he developed late, but it became one of his chief interests, and he did much to promote it in his College, which, fortunately for him, has long enjoyed a musical tradition. Most men gather prejudices as they grow older; Gunn only shed them. His was a fine example of the open mind. One wondered at the humility of this profound scholar, who, while he could be so brusque to any one whom he suspected of trifling, could yet give long and patient attention to a suggestion from his youngest pupil when once convinced of that pupil's sincerity. To those who had thus won his confidence he was kind and indulgent almost to a fault; the only favour they could not claim from him was the comfort of fair words; for he could not deceive even for mercy's sake. His passionate honesty only endeared him the more to his friends.

It would be hard to find an epitaph for a man of such varied talents and qualities; perhaps one might do worse than quote his own earliest work: 'As for the lover of all old and forgotten things, it may justly be said of him, as of the poet, *Nascitur non fit.*'

JOHN BARNES

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1948-9)

By MARCUS N. TOD

THE present Bibliography, which continues that for 1945-7 published in this *Journal*, 34, 109-13, gives a short account of books and articles which came to my notice in the years 1948 and 1949, and incorporates a few items which, though published earlier, were still unknown to me when my preceding survey was written. I indicate by an asterisk works of which I have no first-hand knowledge.

During the period under review J. and L. ROBERT have issued two further instalments of their indispensable 'Bulletin Épigraphique', both of which contain sections relating to Egypt (*Rev. ét. gr.* 61, 207-10; 62, 155-9).

I mention first some works in which epigraphical evidence plays an important role, though in some cases subordinate to that of papyri. A continuation of F. PREISIGKE's valuable *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, based upon all new publications accessible to the author down to the close of 1939, has been undertaken by E. KIESSLING, who in 1944 issued a first instalment (Band IV, Lieferung 1), containing the general word-list from *ā* to *āpros* (reviewed by M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 23, 223-4). The second volume of R. TAUBENSCHLAG's *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (Warsaw, 1948) deals with political and administrative law and contains on p. 116 a list of the inscriptions utilized. In his exhaustive discussion of 'The Paramone as General Service Contract' (*Journ. Jur. Pap.* 2, 9-50) W. L. WESTERMANN examines the evidence of the Delphian manumission-records and of Egyptian papyri and ostraca, from which he concludes that the *παράμωμή* was 'a contract of services which were of a general, or unspecified, kind in contrast to work agreements entailing specified sorts of labor' (p. 37). M. T. LENGHER devotes an article (*Rev. intern. des droits de l'antiquité*, 1, 119-32; cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* 24, 165-6) to the *προστάγματα* of the Lagid kings, with the aim of pointing out the interest which a general study of these laws might have, and of emphasizing the main results in the juridical sphere to which the authoress has been led by a work dealing with one specific class. The summary of a paper by O. W. REINMUTH on 'The Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica and Egypt' (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 78, 433-4) deals briefly with the Egyptian aspect of the subject, but this section does not appear in the article as revised and published *in extenso* (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 79, 211-31).

To J. TONDRIAU we owe a series of three studies (cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Rev. ét. gr.* 62, 155-6) on the question of the identification of members of the Lagid house with various divinities. One of these concerns 'Rois Lagides comparés ou identifiés à des divinités' (*Chron. d'Ég.* 23, 127-46) and includes an appendix (pp. 144-5) on 'Souverains en déesses'; the second is entitled 'Les souveraines Lagides en déesses au III^e siècle avant J.-C.' (*Études pap.* VII, 1-15), and the third 'Princesses ptolémaïques comparées ou identifiées à des déesses' (*Bull. Soc. R. d'Arch. d'Alex.* 37, 12-33), ending with a list of the goddesses concerned (pp. 32-3). The joint work of M. HOMBERT and C. PRÉAUX on the duration of life in Graeco-Roman Egypt from the third century B.C. to the Arab invasion (*Chron. d'Ég.* 20, 139-46; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Rev. ét. gr.* 61, 207-8) deals with 813 cases in which we learn from inscriptions or mummy-labels the age at death of the deceased, and provides some interesting results, though the authors draw attention to the possibly misleading nature of these statistics and call for caution in their acceptance.

I now turn to a geographical survey of new discoveries and of renewed discussions of previously known texts.

P. JOUGUET, whose death in 1949 was a severe blow to epigraphical, and even more to papyrological, studies, devoted an article to the Alexandrian assemblies in the Ptolemaic period (*Bull. Soc. R. d'Arch. d'Alex.* 37, 71-94), usefully summarized by J. and L. ROBERT (*Rev. ét. gr.* 62, 156) and by J. BINGEN (*Chron. d'Ég.* 24, 369-70), in which he pays special attention (pp. 72-7) to a decree now in the Alexandria Museum (BRECCIA,

Iscrizioni, 164). He also examined the Hellenization of the Serapis-cult under the early Ptolemies (*Homages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, 159-66), investigating the fresh evidence regarding the great Alexandrian Serapeum afforded by recent excavation, while a brief account of the temple and the adjacent shrine of Harpocrates, together with their foundation-plaques (cf. *JEA* 34, 110), appeared in *The Times* for August 29, 1949. A. ROWE's article on 'A Painted Pottery Situla from "Pompey's Pillar"' (*Bull. Soc. R. d'Arch. d'Alex.* 35, 59-62) includes a stamped Rhodian amphora-handle and other vase inscriptions, and his report on the excavation of the site includes (ibid. 151) an inscription which he regards as an epitaph, but which H. SEYRIG interprets as part of a welcoming and apotropaic formula (*Rev. ét. gr.* 62, 157). C. H. ROBERTS re-examines (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of W. Merton*, 1, 157-61) the evidence for the ἐπανορθωτής Claudius Firmus contained in an Alexandrian inscription (*OGI* 711; cf. *JEA* 27, 154), re-edited by J. G. WINTER in *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, III, 292-4. Under the title 'Alexandria ad Aegyptum again' P. M. FRASER shows, by reference to a Delian decree (*IG* XI, 588), that in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus the Delians regarded Alexandria as in, and not merely close to, Egypt (*JRS* 39, 56).

A. ZAKI edits with a full commentary, prefaced by a general account of Naucratis, a fragment built into the village-mosque of Nebeira, dating, to judge by the script, from the third or early second century B.C. and containing portions of two columns of names, probably of soldiers (*Études pap.* VII, 73-92; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* 62, 158); this leads to an examination of three inscriptions from Hermopolis Magna (*SB* 599, 4206, 8066) recording the troops which formed the Ptolemaic garrison there in the first century B.C. In an article on the phrase εἰς αἰῶνος G. BJÖRCK cites a dedication (*SB* 176) from Pachnemunis, between Rosetta and Damietta (*Eranos*, 46, 72-4).

K. H. DITTMANN's discussion of the sailing wagon discovered at Medīnet Mādi includes a reference to a passage in the fourth hymn of Isidorus (*SEG* VIII, 551, ll. 35-40), which tells how Porramanres ἐπλεε ἐν ὄρει ἄξοσι καὶ ἰστίῳ (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 10, 71).

To V. B. SCHUMAN we owe two previously unpublished inscriptions from the south temple-area of Caranis (*Hesperia*, 16, 267-71; cf. *AJArch.* 52, 392, *Rev. ét. gr.* 62, 158); one is a new fragment of the inscribed lintel, of which the lower part was published by D. G. HOGARTH (*Fayūm Towns and their Papyri*, 32-3), recording the dedication of the north propylon of the temple of Pnepheros, on August 20, 95 B.C. [ὑπὲρ βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου [τοῦ καὶ Α]λεξάνδρου θεοῦ [Φιλομήτο]ρος καὶ βασιλίσσης [β]ερενίκης θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου καὶ τῶν τέκνων, and the second is a dedication, dated June 16, A.D. 180, on a lintel to Petesouchos and Pnepheros on behalf of the Emperor Commodus. J. SCHERER's account (*Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* 41, 72) of the cult of Soter at Ptolemais appeals to three inscriptions of that site (*IGRom* 1, 1151, 1153, *SB* 7396). In his provisional report on the activities of the German expedition to Hermopolis G. ROEDER publishes a dedication of an alabaster relief Ἀφροδίτῃ θεᾷ μεγίστῃ, dated in 82 B.C. (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 9, 66-8); of ZAKI's discussion of the garrison inscriptions from that city I have spoken above.

C. B. WELLES examines 'The Garden of Ptolemaïus at Panopolis', described in a well-known dossier of poems edited by O. GUÉRAUD (*Ann. Serv.* 39, 279-303), in an 'attempt to come a little further toward an understanding of its significance for the social history of Egypt in the late second or third century of our era'; whether the garden was a religious foundation he regards as still uncertain (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 77, 192-206; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Rev. ét. gr.* 61, 209). The poems have also been subjected to a long and close scrutiny by A. WILHELM (*Wien. Anz.* 1948, 301-26); while acknowledging that WILHELM greatly improves the reading and restoration of the text, WELLES cannot accept his attribution of the monument to the time of Augustus (*AJArch.* 53, 397).

In an article on L. Mussius Aemilianus, prefect of Egypt from A.D. 257 to 259, J. SCHWARTZ utilizes an inscription (*IGRom*, 1, 1181) erected at Koptos in honour of Macrinus and Quietus (*Bull. Soc. R. d'Arch. d'Alex.* 37, 35, 39). In a votive inscription from the same site (*SB* 1166 = 6212) J. SCHERER restores [θεόν] before Σωτήρα (*Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* 41, 72-3; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* 61, 209).

A. BAYOUMI and O. GUÉRAUD edit (*Ann. Serv.* 46, 373-82) a fragment of a new copy of the 'Decree of Canopus', found at El-Kāb (Eileithyiaspolis) and now preserved in the Cairo Museum. It contains the beginnings of four almost illegible lines of hieroglyphics and parts of nine lines of the Greek version (*OGI* 56, ll. 50-61), carelessly engraved and deliberately effaced, honouring the daughter of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice. The discovery of the El-Kāb fragment, the editors observe (p. 381), bears effective witness

to the conscientiousness with which the temple administrations carried out the prescriptions of the decrees, extending very far into Upper Egypt.

W. C. HAYES publishes (*JEA* 34, 114-15; cf. *AJArch.* 53, 397) a foundation-plaque of opaque glass, bearing on the obverse a hieroglyphic inscription in black ink, and on the reverse a dedication of Ptolemy IV to Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία; the plaque, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, seems to have come from some Hathōr-shrine in Upper Egypt, perhaps from that at Dēr el-Medīneh.

An interesting metrical epitaph, probably dating from the second century B.C., of uncertain provenance, but now housed in the Alexandria Museum (inv. no. 24023), has been edited by M. SEGRE (*Bull. Soc. R. d'Arch. d'Alex.* 34, 27-9), and L. ROBERT, in a chapter in which he collects many epigraphical references to Greek shepherds, draws attention to a peculiarity of it, the mention of βουκόλοι ἄνδρες and μηλονόμοι who pass by the tomb, which lay, it would seem, out in the country (*Hellenica*, 7, 158-9). E. DRIOTON publishes (*Ann. Serv.* 45, 83-4) a grey jasper medallion in the royal collection in Cairo, bearing on the obverse a representation of Horus walking on crocodiles, holding a gazelle, a serpent, and a scorpion, accompanied by the inscription κύριε, βοήθι καὶ διαφύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐρπετοῦ, preceded by the letters AKPIMA KPAΓETA.

In a work (**Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden*, Uppsala, 1945) known to me only from the summaries of J. BINGEN (*Chron. d'Ég.* 23, 208) and of J. and L. ROBERT (*Rev. ét. gr.* 62, 156), T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH publishes two fragments, of unknown provenance, of a decree passed by the priestly σύνοδος early in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, before the passage of the 'Decree of Canopus'; the editor adds (pp. 39-41) a list of eight other known decrees of the σύνοδος. In his *Katalog der griechischen und römischen Skulptur . . . im Allard Pierson Museum zu Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1942) C. S. PONGER republishes (pp. 23-4, nos. 49, 50) two inscribed tomb-reliefs from Egypt, formerly in the Bissing Collection in Munich; on one of them the hackneyed formula Πτολεμαῖε χρηστὲ χαῖρε is followed by the phrase καὶ εὐσεβῶν ἴκοιο χώρον. The recent acquisitions of the Benaki Museum at Athens include a pair of Egyptian gold bracelets, dating from the Roman Imperial period and inscribed Κλαυδία Πρόκλα (*BCH* 71-2, 427).

As in previous Bibliographies, I refer in conclusion to some inscriptions which, though not strictly belonging to Egypt, shed light upon the influence, political and religious, exercised by Egypt beyond her own borders.

M. LAUNEY re-edits (*Mélanges Picard*, 572-80), with a greatly improved text, a dedicatory offering erected at Methana in the Argolid ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Φιλομητόρων καὶ τ[ω]ν τ[έκ]νων αὐτῶν (*IG* IV, 854 = *OGI* 115; cf. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Arch. 'Eph.* 1925-6, 69), and examines the name, date, and career of the dedicator, Εἰρηναῖος Νικίου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, a prominent Ptolemaic officer, in the light of inscriptions from Thera (*IG* XII (3), 466 = *OGI* 102) and Delos. The inscribed pediment of the Serapeum of Serdica (Sofia) is published by S. N. Bobchev (*Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* 14, 220-2). To M. SEGRE we owe the *editio princeps* (*Bull. Soc. R. d'Arch. d'Alex.* 34, 29-39) of an inscribed statue-base, dating from the later years of the third century B.C., from Rhodes, which supplies the first certain epigraphical evidence for the cult of Alexander and the Ptolemics in that island; among the priests named are those of Alexander, of Ptolemy, and of Ptolemy and Berenice θεοὶ εὐεργέται. J. GUEY's long article entitled 'Encore la "pluie miraculeuse"' (*Rev. Phil.* 22, 16-62) deals with the personality and career of Harnouphis, the Egyptian priest and wonder-worker, who was the hero of the famous episode in Marcus Aurelius' Danubian War in A.D. 172, and examines (pp. 19-20) the inscription from Aquileia relating to him. A. REHM discusses (*Philol.* 97, 267-75, 369) the letter addressed by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II to his troops in Cyprus, probably in January 144 B.C., differing considerably from WILHELM's treatment (*Klio*, Beiheft XLVIII, 48-59), surveying the history of the opening years of the reign and eliminating from the text (l. 27) the enigmatic 'son' of Ptolemy. One of the two inscriptions of Magnesia sub Siplylo published by J. and L. ROBERT (*Hellenica*, 6, 9-13) is a Hellenistic dedication to Isis and Sarapis, followed by a list of θεραπευταί, dating from the first or second century A.D.; this is the first evidence of the cult of the Egyptian gods in that city.

C. BONNER and A. D. NOCK publish (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* 41, 213-15) a small jasper gem of the second or third century A.D., now in the possession of H. SEYRIG at Bērūt, bearing on the obverse the phrase μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Σάραπισ, and on the reverse μεγάλη τύχη τῆς ἀνικητοῦ Νεωτέρας, in whom they see Cleopatra VII, identified with Isis. A. BEAULIEU and R. MOUTERDE describe the grotto of Astarte at Wasta,

between Sidon and Tyre (*Mél. Beyrouth*, 27, 3-19), the earlier cult in which is represented by the Hellenistic dedication *Βασιλεῖ Π[τολεμαί]ωι καὶ Ἀφροδίτ[ηι ἐπη]κόωι*. The king here referred to they take to be Ptolemy IV, and they interpret the votive as a 'gesture of Egyptian loyalism before the loss of Coele-Syria by the Lagids in 198 B.C.' This view must be accepted with caution, for the restoration *Π[τολεμαί]ωι* cannot be regarded as absolutely certain.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of 𐤊 ¹I. $\text{𐤊} = \text{𐤀}$

IN the course of a detailed study of the great building texts published in vols. IV and VII of Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, my attention was attracted to certain passages in which 𐤊 is used either where one would normally expect a suffix pronoun, 3rd person singular feminine, or where the parallel text has 𐤀 or — . The problem is exposed most clearly, perhaps, in the description of the Sanctuary, which reads:² *All their doors,³ which open into the corridor, (measure) three and two-thirds by six cubits. The Great Seat (the Sanctuary), containing the Uplifter-of-Beauty (the boat-shrine), is between them, 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 the aforesaid⁴ corridor being round about it. Its length (sw-s) is nineteen and five-sixths cubits and (its) width ten and a third (cubits). A great tabernacle of black stone 𐤀𐤏𐤏 is within it, it is a wonder to behold. The corridor hall (?)⁵ 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 is to right and left of it to give entrance to the mysterious portals (i.e. the chapels) 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 which surround it.*

The parallel text⁶ has $\text{𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏} \text{—} m \text{ phr-s}$ for 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 , but elsewhere uses 𐤊 . Since the antecedent of all these pronouns is *St-wrt*, the pronoun in each case should be feminine and there seems to be no alternative to reading 𐤊 as *s* in *E. IV*, 5, 10, 11, and *E. VII*, 15, 4, seven examples in all.

This note had already been drafted when I received a copy of Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 1. On pp. 64, 65 of that work Alliot translates the two passages we have been discussing. His solution of the difficulty (op. cit., p. 65, n. 2) is to take 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 as a writing of *hm* 'shrine', 'chapel'. Although this is a possible writing (compare *E. IV*, 5, 7 with *E. VII*, 14, 3), Alliot's solution is hardly convincing, partly because 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 is *m phr* and not *m kb*; partly because the apparently haphazard interchange of 𐤀 and 𐤊 in *E. IV*, 5, 9-11 still remains unexplained; and partly because it involves impossibilities, since he is now forced to translate *E. VII*, 15, 3 as *La 'grande place' est au milieu d'elles: le sanctuaire qui est en son centre a 19 (coudées) 5/6 sur 10 1/3*, but since, according to Alliot, *St-wrt* and *hm* are the same, the one cannot be inside the other!

Moreover, even if Alliot's theory were correct, it would still fail to explain the interchange of 𐤊 , 𐤀 , and — in *E. IV*, 5, 1-8 and *E. VII*, 13, 1-15, 1. These two passages really require a longer commentary than can be given here, and in fact in the former an alternative, but not very satisfying, explanation of the use of 𐤊 can be offered, but it is significant that where in *E. IV*, 5, 4, 7 𐤊 is used, *E. VII*, 13, 3; 14, 3 have — , and that for 𐤊 in *E. IV*, 5, 5 we find 𐤀 in *E. VII*, 13, 4. On the other hand, in *E. IV*, 5, 7-8 = *VII*, 14, 3, and in *E. IV*, 5, 8 = *VII*, 15, 1 both texts employ 𐤊 where 𐤀 or — might have been expected.

It is by a simple development of this usage that, as Blackman and I have already pointed out,⁷

¹ Since the exact Ptolemaic forms of some of the signs used in this note do not exist in the fount, the nearest equivalent has been employed.

² *E. IV*, 5, 9-11.

³ I.e. the chapels surrounding the Sanctuary.

⁴ Here and in *E. VII*, 15, 3 *pn* appears to have the same force as Late Egyptian 𐤏𐤏𐤏 , cf. *JEA* 22, pls. 13, 15, 2. 4. 6; 16, 1. 4. 5. 7. 9; with n. 3 on p. 171.

⁵ *Hti nw imy*: or perhaps 'the doorway of the corridor' (?).

⁶ *E. VII*, 15, 2-4.





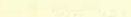





⁷ See above, p. 74, n. 82 of the Commentary.

[illegible]


It thus appears that \simeq occasionally has the value s , though only so far noted in writings of the suffix pronoun, and hence, still more rarely, $s(w)$. This value presumably arose through the substitution of \simeq for some other form of snake, just as we find \simeq and \simeq with the value s (*Ann. Serv.* 43, 229, Nos. 193 (e), 194 (b), with n. L on p. 271). Note too that in *E.* iv, 5, 5, \simeq , by false analogy and mechanical substitution for \simeq , is the equivalent of \parallel in *E.* vii, 13, 4.

2. $x_{\text{max}} = 1$

This new value seems to me one of the most unexpected Ptolemaic values I have yet encountered, nevertheless it is quite certain. The following examples are known to me:¹


- (a)  *h w h n r d f w* 'food and provisions' (E. II, 13, 12).
 (b)  *s w c h r w* 'long-lived' (E. III, 106, 17).
 (c)  *w n w o t p w n t m s c n w c h n w i s n R c* 'it is the hour of hauling on the tow-rope of the bark of Rēc' (E. III, 227, 8-9); cf.  *s w c h r w*, E. III, 6, 10, and *Wb.* II, 223, 10 = *Belegstellen*, 324.
 (d)  *h r y* (for old *h r t*) '(primeval) mound' (E. IV, 390, 6). Whether the infrequent  (e.g. E. VI, 9, 4) is the same word,⁴ I am not yet prepared to say.
 (e)  *h r w n w c h r* 'weapons of war' (E. VI, 54, 1).
 (f)  *n s n r t w o f* 'without being repelled' (E. VI, 240, 12).
 (g)  *h r n s t f m n b w c* 'on his throne as sole lord' (D. II, 41, 13; cf.  D. II, 42, 13).


I am unable to suggest an origin for this value. Blackman, Gardiner, and Gunn, to whom I submitted this problem, were all unable to offer any suggestion, though they agreed that the origin could not be sought in *lert*, *capp*, or *chey*.

It is of interest to note that this value may perhaps occur before Ptolemaic times: cf. , Hermann, *Stelen d. thebanischen Felsgräber*, 45, 16 = Thebes, Tomb 260 (User, Dyn. XVIII). Since the reading *sch* is in part a restoration, I quote it only as a matter of interest and not as decisive evidence.


H. W. FAIRMAN

An Egyptian expression for 'home':

'DEATH seems to me now , as when a man desires to see home, having spent many years in captivity', *Lebensmüde* 140-2.

'Death seems to me now like a beaten (?) track, , as when a man comes home from a military expedition', *Lebensmüde* 136-8.

Erman in his edition (p. 69) assumes in these two cases a collective treatment of $\overline{\text{ḥt}}$; this is rendered highly unlikely by the fact that the same word is treated as a singular in l. 139 between the two passages cited above (*ḥmt-n-f* 'what he did not know'), and also in ll. 105-6, 110, 112-13, 119. We may thus see in *pr-sn* an expression for 'home', probably meaning 'the family's house'; and the

¹  (*E. IV, 147, 3*) is a modern error and has been corrected by Chassinat himself, *E. IV, p. viii*.


² e is reversed in the original.

³ 𠂔 is reversed in the original.

⁴ *Hfy* does not occur in *Wb*.

⁵ Note found nearly ready for press among Gunn's papers.

⁶ Lit. 'a road of rain'. The emendation here is unnecessary; the image being that of a desert-road along which the rain-water races impetuously. A.H.G.

same expression with no antecedent to the suffix is met with in *Prisse* 1, 7: . 'He is a wretch who is grasping for the sake of his belly, . . . (and) who is gluttonous at home.'¹

BATTISCOMBE GUNN

The Funerary Papyrus of Woseramūn

AMONG the antiquities of the Rhind Collection, which since 1939 has been on permanent loan from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to the Royal Scottish Museum, is a fragmentary papyrus roll which is numbered 910 in Miss Murray's Catalogue² where it is described as 'scraps of inscribed papyrus'. This specimen was also published by Rhind³ who, quoting Birch, accredits its original ownership to a 'Usr or Ssr' holding 'the post of "royal auditor, chief military governor, in the whole earth governor of the Nome. . . ." His father, who had been a similar functionary, was named Hatu, and his mother, Ta aa matu.' It may be difficult to recognize from these descriptions that we have in Edinburgh the mutilated fragments of the copy of the *Book of the Dead* of no less a person than Woseramūn, or Woser as he is more usually called, the great vizier of Tuthmosis III, whose genealogy has been discussed, among others, by Newberry⁴ and Gardiner.⁵

In its present damaged condition, the papyrus consists of twelve fragments, averaging 9½ in. in height by 3½ in. in width, mounted on paper and glazed. It is possible to identify spells from the following chapters: VII, XIV, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXA, XXXB, XXXVIII, XLIII, XCIX, CII, CXIX. An examination of the lacunae in the text reveals that about an inch is missing from the top and bottom margins and that when complete the papyrus would be approximately a foot in width. Apparently the roll was at some time in its life crushed flat and the edges bruised and broken away until a wad of twelve layered leaves was all that remained when Rhind unearthed it.

The calligraphy of this specimen, as we should expect in the case of a copy designed for the highest officer of state, is in an accurate and beautiful hand. Wherever the name of Woser appears it is accompanied by some of his titles.⁶ His parents' names are given in their Semiticised forms.⁷ There is also a greatly damaged fragment of a vignette representing the scene of the Weighing of the Heart, executed in a thin nervous line and delicate washes of colour, as usual by a different hand from that responsible for the text. It is probable that this was the only vignette in the roll.

Rhind describes⁸ the place in the Shēkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah at Thebes where he found this fragment as being some 'three hundred yards to the east of the house' formerly 'raised as the headquarters of Mr. Salt's excavating operations'.⁹ This must have been in the vicinity of tomb No. 131, and would suggest that it was here, rather than in his second tomb, No. 61, that Woser was buried.

CYRIL ALDRED

Iron-mines near Aswān

IN Hume, *Geology of Egypt*, II, pt. iii, p. 848, occurs the following paragraph:

'LABIB H. NASSIM has given the writer information of the existence of a very important stela near Aswan, which has a direct bearing on the question of the employment of iron by the Ancient Egyptians. This

¹ Gunn's suggested rendering at least accounts for the suffix of *pr-sn*, rendering untenable the translation hazarded by myself in *JEA* 32, 73. A.H.G.

² *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 33, 465.

³ Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants* (1862), 136.

⁴ Newberry, *Rehmarā*, 14.

⁵ Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, 31.

⁶ For these see Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 316.

⁷ Davies and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 32.

⁸ Rhind, *op. cit.*, 124-36.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 79.

inscription is situated northward of Aswan station, and at two kilometres north of the mouth of Wadi Agag. An easy wide road leads up the hill, the stela being on the northern side at a little distance up the slope. The ancients worked the oolitic ore of this area, which now forms part of a concession granted to NASSIM EFFENDI in connection with his factory for the preparation of colours.'

The impression given is that the iron-mines are mentioned on the stela, and as the latter is of New Kingdom date, it looks as though we had here direct evidence that the mines were used by the Egyptians at this period. My attention was drawn to this matter by Mr. G. W. Murray when I was in Egypt in 1947, and at my request Mr. Labib Habachi examined and photographed the stela, with the result that we can now say definitely that there is no connexion between it and the iron-mines. It represents a man called Setiemḥab, *temp.* Sethos II, before the Triad of Elephantine, with texts of other officials, including an Overseer of Works, and a temple-scribe. The neighbourhood of Aswān abounds in such graffiti. That the iron-mines were worked in Persian or Early Ptolemaic times is proved by a pot of that date found in the galleries, but there is nothing surprising in this, as the industry was introduced in the seventh century by mercenaries of Naucratis, so that Egypt had just begun to enter the Iron Age at this date. The stela is therefore some 600 years or so earlier than any iron-working in the neighbourhood, and naturally makes no mention of iron or mining; it has nothing to do with the mines beyond a chance proximity. The inscriptions will be published shortly by Labib Habachi.

ROSALIND MOSS

Two Semitic Letters

IN his recent Schweich Lectures on *Semitic Writing* Prof. G. R. Driver *inter alia* discusses the origin of the Semitic Alphabet. A detailed demonstration is given of the various ways in which Egyptian influence appears to have been active in its formation. The author gives a few examples of more or less exact agreement in Egyptian and Hebrew between form and name (p. 163 f.). Two more are here tentatively suggested.

On p. 168 the author adopts the suggestion that the letter *qôph* (Phoen. Φ) received its Hebrew name from its 'fancied resemblance to a monkey on a pole or a tree with its tail hanging down'. There is, however, also identity of name as the Hebrew is a well-known loan-word from Egyptian.¹

The Phoenician letter *mēm* (Ψ) is derived by Prof. Driver from the hieroglyphic word $\overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{w}}$ *n.t* which means 'water'. The latter had given rise to the Egyptian alphabetic sign for *n* and also, according to Prof. Driver, to the Phoenician *m*. May it not, however, be rather derived from the alternative $\overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{w}}$ which, moreover, in Egyptian group-writing had the phonetic value *m*?² If so, there is essential identity of form, name, and meaning. The triple wave-line has been reduced by an obvious simplification, no doubt under the influence and on the analogy of the Egyptian alphabetic sign for *n*.

MANFRED CASSIRER

The Neter Pole and the Ashera

IN *JEA* 33, 90, Professor Newberry has published an interesting and suggestive note on the cult of the *netter* pole in which he suggests that this object is probably the same as the *ashera* of the Bible.

¹ Erman, *Gramm.*, 118, who explains that Eg. *g* sometimes corresponds to Semitic *qôph*. For Biblical קֶפֶן 'monkey' in Hebrew and Egyptian lists of goods brought home from expeditions, cf. Albright in *AJS* 37, 144.

² Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, 479.

It is suggested that the *ashera* was altogether a different object. In my notes on *Little Aden Folklore*, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 44, 226-7, I describe two dressed poles to which offerings of all sorts were



FIG. 1.

made. I attach a sketch from memory of one of the 'uds in its 'Išwah and I suggest that this 'ud is in fact an *ashera*. Robertson Smith in *The Religion of the Semites*, London, 1907, discusses this cult object, particularly on pp. 187-91 when he quotes Plutarch's description of the sacred *erica* worshipped at Byblus, said to be the tree which grew round the dead body of Osiris, cut down, wrapped in a cloth, perfumed, and presented by Isis to the King (an obvious corruption of the Tale of the Two Brothers), and continues 'can it be that the rite of draping and anointing a sacred stump supplies the answer to the unsolved question of the nature of the ritual practices connected with the *ashera*?'

Now the 'ud at Dureimiyya is said to stand on the spot where the tree grew in which the Ma'agiz (a jinniyya) was imprisoned. The tree is said to have been cut down for firewood and carried away by four of the 'Aqarib tribe who were all thereupon killed by the Ma'agiz (Myers, *op. cit.* 201 ff.).

'Ud with flags are very common in this neighbourhood but I have never seen one standing at a pre-Islamic shrine, though standards with flags on them are carried in the processions. As fixed points they appear to be used to mark a *naqbah* or outpost of the spirit's worship where the spirit can be made to appear by the *manşab* or *manşubah*.

This is not to say that the *ashera* and *neter* do not derive from the same fundamental ideas in connexion with tree worship or even that there was not once a single prototype, but that by the time of the Bible the *ashera* had become the inner representation of the God and the *neter* a temenos indication of a sacred area. Such appears in fact to be the case at the shrine of Neith in the First Dynasty (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 3A, 5) cited by Murray in this connexion in *Griffith Studies*, 312-15, pl. 49.

Incidentally it seems very reasonable to suggest that the little white flags which fly on long poles in the Sudan at Shēkhs' tombs (including that of Bint ash-Shēkh, the pyramid of a Queen at Kurru) are *neteru* as has been suggested by A. J. Arkell in *JEA* 19, 175 f.

OLIVER H. MYERS

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt. By ELISE J. BAUMGARTEL. Published on behalf of the Griffith Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. xi+122, figs. 50, pls. 13. £2. 2s.

It is unfortunate that in spite of the enormous amount of excavated material our knowledge of the chronological sequence in predynastic Egypt is still far from complete. In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, a relatively clear cultural sequence has been worked out from the results of excavations undertaken between the two wars. Recently, however, more valuable material information has come out of Egypt, particularly from Armant and Saqqārah, and this has greatly assisted in the interpretation of the material evidence collected by Sir Flinders Petrie at the end of the last century. Dr. Baumgartel's study is therefore especially important. It is based on the Petrie collection at University College, London, and results from the author's work in the Department of Egyptology where she was able to study and index the objects from Koptos, Naqādah and Ballas, and Diospolis Parva, many of them hitherto unpublished. If the war had not intervened a comprehensive catalogue of the whole collection would have been published by Dr. Baumgartel; as it is we must be grateful for the prompt publication of the fruits of her researches to date, and hope that in due course the catalogue will appear. The book is well planned and Dr. Baumgartel's conclusions, while they may not command general agreement, are clearly formulated and give the evidence on which they are based.

The book deals fully and in detail with the problem, 'Was the birthplace of Pharaonic Egyptian culture in the Nile Delta?' The author does not leave us in any doubt about her complete disagreement with Sethe's theory of a prehistoric kingdom of Heliopolis dominating the south. Yet archaeologically, Dr. Baumgartel's view is mainly based on the negative evidence from the excavations at Heliopolis, where no systematic work has been carried out since Petrie's excavations, except for the opening of four tombs in 1915. One fact, however, cannot be denied. Although the earliest objects yet known from Heliopolis are dated to the Third Dynasty period, the importance of this site in the early development of Egyptian religion is certain, and it may well be that its influence was based, as Frankfort has suggested, 'not on political developments, but on the quality of its theologians and their sustained preoccupation with the formulation of beliefs which had been held in one form or another by most Egyptians since a distant past' (*Kingship and the Gods*, 349, n. 6). The pyramid texts mention Heliopolis as the place where Atum's work of creation actually began and here Mesopotamia may provide an analogy. A Babylonian Creation text tells us how 'All the lands were sea, then Eridu was made . . .' and the remarkable series of temples recently excavated by the Iraq Department of Antiquities have shown both that the religious beliefs of the Sumerians originated far back in the prehistoric period, and that the city of Eridu was inhabited at a period earlier than that of Al 'Ubaid. This suggests that it is unwise to assume that Heliopolis will not yield evidence as important to this problem as that provided by Eridu in the Mesopotamian field.

Another point deserves consideration. The Lower Egyptian cultures are not treated in detail, and their importance is perhaps under-estimated in the author's attack on the 'Delta Hypothesis'. Dr. Baumgartel also states categorically that 'the beginning of the Merimde settlement must have taken place at a time when the Naqādah II culture was already well established in Upper Egypt' (p. 18), and while it is true that Naqādah I has never been found in the Nile valley itself north of Asyūṭ, there is evidence for an earlier date for the beginning of Merimde which is not discussed in this book. This is based on the similarities, discerned by several scholars, between the flint industries of Fayyūm A, Merimde, and Badari, and suggests that these three cultures cannot be far removed in date from one another. Recently Egyptian discoveries at Helwān have yielded a series of First Dynasty tombs, and this may well be a pointer to what may yet emerge from Heliopolis itself (*Illustrated London News*, 5 June 1949).

After a discussion of the earliest phases of Egyptian culture and a useful summary of the author's conclusions, the second part of the book is devoted to foreign origins and connexions. This includes sections on the early and later painted pottery and the stone vases. Here it must be stressed that the evidence on

which Dr. Baumgartel bases her conclusions 'that the Naḳādah II people had been influenced by an incised pottery culture corresponding to that of the so-called Uruk period in Mesopotamia . . .' (p. 79) is very slight. In western Asia pottery decorated with incisions varies enormously both in technique and shape and can belong to widely different periods. While, as Miss Seton-Williams has shown in *Iraq*, 10, 1 (*Neolithic Burnished Wares in the Near East*), the early burnished wares with incised decoration have certain well-marked characteristics in common, comparisons between western Asia and Egypt based solely on shape or incised patterns must be suspect, and it is unwise to use such criteria as evidence for chronological theories.

Again, in the section on stone bowls, the author attempts to solve chronological problems by making typological comparisons between Egyptian and Asiatic stone vases. But evidence of this nature is liable to be inconclusive and as unsatisfactory as theories based solely on the typology of metal weapons. Stone vases were not as easily destructible as pottery and, as the author herself states (p. 45), 'may survive their period for a considerable time. A squat stone vase of Naḳādah II forms part of the treasury of St. Mark's, Venice!' Few will dispute Dr. Baumgartel's conclusion that Naḳādah II must be contemporaneous with the Jamdat Naṣr period in Mesopotamia, but when she states (p. 106) that 'among the 18 vases found at Arpakhīya [*sic*] 10 represent types familiar from Egyptian material' and then postulates a connexion between the Egyptian types dating from the first three dynasties and the Arpachiyah examples of the Halaf period, the fallacious nature of this line of argument becomes apparent. For Dr. Baumgartel then attempts to fit the typological similarities into a scheme of Egyptian chronology, and in order to do this it is suggested that the Arpachiyah dating should be lowered; but in fact the associations of the prehistoric Assyrian stone vases are perfectly clear, and do not conflict with any stratigraphical evidence from other Mesopotamian sites. Recent evidence from Eridu has stressed the immense period of time which must have elapsed between the Halaf and the Jamdat Naṣr periods—an important point which is ignored by the author. In the latter period we are on safe ground. The archaeological evidence is well known; the high-prowed boats, recessed buildings, and cylinder seals point to some sort of connexion between Egypt and Mesopotamia. But much remains to be done before we can reconstruct the history of the earlier periods, and we need more certain facts based on sound stratigraphical evidence before we can build any sure foundation of knowledge. Let us hope that facts will soon be forthcoming to supplement Dr. Baumgartel's study.

K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP

Excavations at Saqqara: Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, I. By WALTER B. EMERY. Service des Antiquités, Cairo. 1949.

Apart from the tombs of Hemaka and 'Aḥa, which were published separately immediately after their discovery, this volume represents the first instalment of W. B. Emery's final report on his excavations at the early-dynastic cemetery of North Saqqārah. These excavations have received particular attention from Egyptologists not only on account of their archaeological importance but also because of the problems which they have raised in connexion with the location of the royal tombs of the First Dynasty—a question which many Egyptologists, though not all, previously considered had been conclusively settled by the excavations of Amélineau and Petrie at Abydos. In these circumstances it is perhaps a little disappointing to find that Emery has not found it possible to supplement his very comprehensive account of the eight tombs selected for publication with even a tentative statement of his present views on the nature of the site. His caution will, however, not seem unreasonable if it is borne in mind that in one of his latest preliminary reports he estimated that less than a tenth of the whole cemetery had at that time been cleared,¹ and it is doubtful whether his subsequent work, limited to one post-war season, has reduced the unexcavated portion by any substantial amount. Nevertheless, it will probably not pass unnoticed that, whereas in that report he adumbrated the possibility that the tomb described might have belonged to Djer, in the present publication the same tomb (No. 3471) is merely dated to the reign of that king, without comment on its ownership. No doubt this omission was deliberate and it would certainly be unwarranted to conclude that it possesses any special significance.

¹ W. B. Emery, *A Preliminary Report on the First Dynasty Copper Treasure from North Saqqara*, in *Ann. Serv.* 39, 427 ff.






As an introduction to this volume, Emery outlines the different stages in tomb-development revealed at North Saqqārah during the First Dynasty. He points out that the most noticeable feature of this process is the gradual deepening of the substructure, which he attributes to an attempt on the part of the builders to thwart the efforts of the tomb-robbers. There is, however, another feature, to judge from the examples chosen, which is also to be noted: the superstructures of the six mastabas which he places first in chronological order are all decorated with the palace-façade and are divided internally into compartments, whereas the three mastabas dating from the latter part of the dynasty lack the palace-façade and were either filled entirely with rubble or composed of solid brick. The presence of the palace-façade in the first instance and its absence in the second certainly suggest that its inclusion was not unrelated to the internal construction of the mastaba and the most obvious explanation would seem to be that the niches in the palace-façade were regarded as false doors leading to the compartments which, at least in the earliest examples, served as magazines for the tomb furniture.¹ Complete consistency is, however, seldom found in Egyptian architecture and it comes as no surprise to learn that the mastaba of Sabu, which dates from the reign of Anezib and is not chosen by Emery to illustrate his thesis, possessed a superstructure with the palace-façade, although internally it was filled with fine sand and was not divided into compartments. Again, two mastabas dating from the time of Kāā, which are also not included in the sketch of tomb development, have large magazines inside a superstructure with very thick walls but no palace-façade. These three mastabas in fact demonstrate the well-attested practice of the ancient Egyptians of retaining, in whole or in part, established customs long after they had ceased to fulfil their proper function.

From the point of view of architecture, the most interesting of the tombs described is the mastaba numbered 3038. Those who have read Emery's preliminary² report will remember that this tomb underwent some fundamental changes in design before attaining its final pattern of a fairly conventional mastaba with a palace-façade, the first construction having apparently been flanked on the north, south, and east sides with eight steps. No other tomb comparable in design with the initial form of this building has yet been discovered in Saqqārah or elsewhere and the question which must be asked is whether the builder was simply experimenting with a new style of architecture which he subsequently discarded because it failed to satisfy the owner or whether the original building was intended for one person and only altered when, for some reason, it became the property of a different owner with more orthodox views. Emery, no doubt in his desire not to embark on questions of interpretation, dismisses this intriguing problem with the somewhat cryptic statement (p. 82): 'It is possible, perhaps even probable, that Nebetka was the owner of the tomb, but we must envisage other and more startling possibilities when we consider the original design of the tomb with the representation of what Petrie considered the emblem of the Tomb of Enezib on a fragment of a stone vase and on pot marks from Abydos.' Can it be, therefore, that the tomb was first intended for the king and only transformed when it was assigned to one of his nobles? If so, it would constitute the earliest known royal tomb with a distinctive superstructure and perhaps the architectural forerunner of the step-type of pyramid.

With one notable exception, the mastabas of this cemetery were plundered in antiquity even more thoroughly than the tombs of the same date at Abydos. This exception is the mastaba previously mentioned as being dated to the reign of Djer which yielded the vast collection of copper objects, numbering more than five hundred pieces and including tools of perhaps every kind used in the time of its owner, implements, and vessels. The value of this collection needs no emphasis, either on technical grounds or as shedding a useful side-light on the quantity of copper which must have been mined in its time. Besides some fragments of wooden furniture and a small quantity of jewellery the same mastaba also contained a crudely decorated schist palette showing a king, presumably Djer, smiting a prostrate captive identified by Emery as a Libyan. Unfortunately the carving is so faint that details are difficult to determine, but the suggestion that the king is wearing the *nemes* head-dress is hard to accept although no alternative can be offered.

¹ It is perhaps necessary to add that the question of the purpose of the palace-façade does not inevitably affect its supposed architectural origin, the most recent discussions of which are to be found in the following publications: H. Frankfort, *The Origin of Monumental Architecture in Egypt*, in *AJSL* 58, No. 14, pp. 329 ff.; A. Scharff, *Das Grab als Wohnhaus in der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, Sitzb. München, 1944-6, Heft 6, pp. 25 ff.; H. Ricke, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, pp. 21 ff.

² W. B. Emery, *A Preliminary Report on the Architecture of the Tomb of Nebetka*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 455 ff.

Perhaps the most disappointing feature of these tombs is the paucity of inscribed material which they have yielded. It is true that short texts indicating ownership or the contents of vases were the most that could reasonably have been expected, but even these laconic details are often of the highest value. One of the few inscribed objects mentioned is a mud-seal impression from the mastaba of Nebetka which includes a hieroglyphic group reproduced (fig. 46) as ; this reading may, however, be questioned, both because of the inversion of the  and because of the angular, instead of curved, formation of this sign.¹ A further examination of the original may show that the true reading should be —a group found on some other sealings of the same period. In this connexion it may be noted that only one example of each text is given, although many sealings were found in duplicate and further illustrations might have helped in the elucidation of problematical readings: a particularly obscure instance is to be observed in the case of a sealing inscribed with the name of a building which is coupled with the *serekh* of Anezib (fig. 45). A possibility which seems worth considering is that the name which Emery reads as Neska (the probable owner of tomb No. X) should be read as *n(i)-nh-k(i)* '(My) ka belongs to life', for there is some evidence that, at this period, the signs  and  were interchangeable.²

The concluding chapters contain a most useful typographical catalogue of stone and pottery vessels and a list of pot-marks. Emery's drawings throughout, including the colour reproductions of the painted mural decorations, are excellent. It is not necessary to have been an eyewitness of his methods of excavation to realize the immense amount of care and skill embodied in his architectural plans, but it is perhaps more especially in this respect that Egyptologists everywhere will be conscious of the very great loss that they have suffered by his decision to abandon, at least temporarily, the excavation of this cemetery. Some consolation will certainly be derived from his assurance that he intends to publish, as quickly as circumstances permit, the results hitherto obtained, but only by carrying on patient and methodical excavation for many years to come will it be possible to extract from these ruined mastabas the mass of valuable information which they may confidently be expected to yield.

I. E. S. EDWARDS

Prosopographia Ptolemaica. By W. PEREMANS and E. VAN 'T DACK. 1. *L'Administration civile et financière n° 1 à 1824* (Studia Hellenistica ediderunt L. Cerfaux et W. Peremans, 6.) Louvain, Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1950. 8vo. Pp. xxvi+164.

As any branch of scholarship develops the need becomes ever greater of works which summarize and present in tabulated form the constantly accumulating mass of published material. Of such *auxilia* by no means the least useful is the prosopography. The great undertaking of the Louvain group of papyrologists, of which this is the first instalment, is therefore sure of an immediate and a warm welcome. It sets out to 'réunir les noms de toutes les personnes ayant vécu sous la domination des Lagides (323-30 a. C.), en Égypte même ou dans les possessions extérieures de ces rois, et qui sont mentionnées dans les sources disponibles'.

It is a vast project, for the sources are numerous in bulk (though proportionately to the length of the period covered very inadequate) and of very varying utility for the purpose of a prosopography. The principal quarry for information is of course the papyri, but besides inscriptions, which are numerous, there are scattered about in literary and other works occasional references, which the compilers cannot neglect. They seem to have covered very adequately the papyrological material (though they specify on p. x some papyrus publications to which they had not access) and a number of literary sources, but it is a little surprising to read (on p. ix) that some relevant texts, like those in Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, have not yet been examined. Would it not have been better to delay the issue till all possible sources had been consulted? No work of this kind can hope to avoid some gaps, and names discovered subsequently can always be added in an appendix, but such supplements are inconvenient and should be reduced to a minimum.

¹ One of the very rare occurrences of this sign in early-dynastic inscriptions is published in W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, 1, pl. 19, 7, where it is curved, although similarly inverted, but in Old Kingdom inscriptions the open end of the sign is in the normal direction and the cross-lines are curved.

² B. Grdseloff, *Notes d'épigraphie archaïque*, in *Ann. Serv.* 44, 304 ff.

The difficulties of such an undertaking as this are many and are clearly set out by the editors in their introduction. Some editions, especially those issued long ago, are in need of revision, and Preisigke's invaluable *Berichtigungsliste*, an indispensable adjunct to any papyrologist's apparatus, will not supply every correction now available; Bilabel's preface to the last part issued is dated as long ago as 1933. There are many names not certainly read or incomplete; and the enormous popularity of some names often makes it difficult to disentangle the various people who bore them. The same name is differently spelt in different places; the same person sometimes had more than one name; the same title, for example *οικονόμος* or *γραμματεὺς*, might be held by officials of various classes and grades; in letters, especially in the Ptolemaic period, an official frequently omitted his title, and at times the office was indicated by a periphrasis, particularly in literary sources, e.g. (to quote the editors' example) Polybius's description of Tlepolemus as *ὁ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πράγματα μεταχειριζόμενος*. Lastly, there is the difficulty of dealing with Egyptian names which occur in demotic texts and of which the vocalization is unknown or uncertain.

These difficulties are certainly formidable, but it is some help towards their solution to realize them in advance, and the editors seem to be entirely on the right lines in dealing with them. Even so, there are bound to be cases of uncertainty and, doubtless, of mistaken choice between possible alternatives.

In planning a work of this kind one is confronted from the outset by a major problem: should the arrangement be purely alphabetical or should the names be classified? There is much to be said on either side. A single alphabetical list is a great convenience for many purposes. An editor finding in a papyrus or inscription the name of an obviously official person whose title is not given or is illegible is saved much trouble if he can look up the occurrences of that name in such a list and so, it may be, at once identify the person concerned. With a classified prosopography he may have to consult a dozen different lists. Moreover, as already said, there are many cases of uncertainty, so that classification involves the risk of misplacing a name. Furthermore, the same person may successively have occupied various positions or may simultaneously have performed more than one function, e.g. both civil and military. Cross-references will obviate any inconveniences arising from this last factor, and an alphabetic index to the whole work is an answer to the first objection.

It is, as a matter of fact, the classified prosopography to which the editors have committed themselves. Vol. I will contain the names of civil and financial officials, vol. II military persons, vol. III the 'clergy', after which, in vol. IV, will come lists devoted 'aux instances judiciaires, au notariat, aux diverses professions et métiers ainsi qu'aux données se rapportant aux possessions extérieures des Lagides'. Finally, 'à partir du cinquième volume', will be given an alphabetic index, which will include also all persons not elsewhere mentioned, because their function or profession is unknown. Within the single volumes there is further classification. Thus, in the present instalment there are four principal divisions, the central administration, the administration of the cities and *politeumata*, the civil administration of the *chora*, the financial administration of the same, and each of these is subdivided into sections by classes of officials, I into three, II into ten, III into thirteen, IV into fourteen; and even of these sections some are again subdivided. This arrangement has undoubted advantages—it is often a great convenience to be able to turn to a list of *strategi*, of royal scribes or *trapezitai* or the like—but it adds to the risk of wrong classification and enormously increases the labour of identifying a person, possibly of obvious standing, whose title is unknown. I am inclined personally to think that it would have been better to adopt an alphabetic arrangement and to follow this up with classified lists rather than to reverse the process; but there is admittedly a strong case for the editors' choice, and the alphabetic volume, when it comes—may that not be in the too distant future!—will remove the chief objections to the classified arrangement. Meanwhile, though only constant use will fully reveal the merits and defects of such a work, it may be said that the compilers and editors seem to have done their work with admirable thoroughness and efficiency. One specimen entry will show the method followed. It is taken from p. 51: '447. *Θοῶνις*—Héracléopolite—162—P. Tebt. III, 857, l. 10.' That is, this is the 447th entry. *Thoōnis* is a royal scribe, coming as he does in the sub-section 'Les Basilicogrammates', his sphere is the Héracléopolite nome, the date is 162 B.C., and the reference is P. Tebt. III, 857, 10.

One criticism and suggestion may be made in conclusion. In a classified prosopography, since the official titles of the persons entered are often not given, the heading of the section or sub-section being sufficient indication, it is important that one should be able at once to recognize what class of official is referred to. In the absence of a running title at the top of the page this is not always easy. Take, for example, the opening

pp. 12-13, where we get a list of names from Zenôn son of Timarchus to Panacestôr. To be certain who these people are one must turn back to p. 8, where one finds the heading 'Subordonnés', which a further reference to p. 2 shows to mean subordinates of the *Dioecetae*. It would save some trouble if the heading of the subsection were given at the top of each page.

In conclusion, the Louvain school must be thanked for an undertaking which has put all students of Ptolemaic Egypt in its debt.

H. I. BELL

The Splendour that was Egypt. By MARGARET A. MURRAY, D.Lit. Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., London, 1949. 354 pp., 97 plates (4 coloured), 24 line drawings in the text, 2 maps. Large 8vo. Price 30s. net.

As may be gathered from its title the book is a companion to the well-known pair *The Glory that was Greece* and *The Grandeur that was Rome*. As the author worked for most of her life with Professor Sir Flinders Petrie she dedicates the book to the memory of that great man 'who out of the hobby of antiquarianism created the science of archaeology', and ends with a short review of the stages by which he established the study of the material remains. This is most necessary, for the length and bitterness of the battle he had to fight is apt to be forgotten now that his premisses have long been accepted as a matter of course. Pl. 91 is a photograph of him at the time that he accepted the Edwards Professorship and pl. 92 of him when he retired. Another thing that has been forgotten is that the Professorship was founded for 'the teaching of Egyptian archaeology and the training in scientific excavation'.

It was a courageous undertaking of Dr. Murray to attempt to survey so vast a field as the whole range of Egyptian civilization from the predynastic to the Coptic periods. Not unnaturally in such a book there are statements which the expert would want to qualify or even correct. However, the book does give the general reader a peculiarly intimate view of life in ancient Egypt. In fact its characteristic which differentiates it from most accounts is what the Americans call 'human interest'.

But besides this the book is of importance to the expert for at least two studies contained in it, and they will come as a shock to those who are not accustomed to the anthropological approach. And how many of us are? Yet there is much in the ancient East that we cannot expect to understand from the viewpoint of twentieth-century Europe. These two studies are that of the part played by the Pharaoh in his people's life and religion (pp. 164 ff., 175 ff.), and that of the consanguineous marriages and the succession to the throne (pp. 101 ff., 321 ff.).

No one questions that the Pharaoh was a Divine King, though it is with difficulty that the consequences of that position are accepted, for the philosophy out of which it all grew is so out of date as to have become quite unreasonable in the light of our modern knowledge. It has, however, been widely held in the world and still is in many countries. The Divine King is not necessarily the military leader or the wielder of dictatorial powers, though, of course, he may be these also. He is a religious personality, the man in whom the divine spirit is immanent, and it is he or rather the divine spirit within him that keeps the world going, the seasons in order, and ensures the fertility and success of crops, herds, and men. As the spirit must not be allowed to grow old, it has to be kept vigorous, either by killing the ageing holder or his substitute with ceremonies to transfer it to his successor, or in more civilized days by magically rejuvenating it in the existing holder. In historic Egypt the original crude method was only very occasionally employed, but we know how Ramesses II, for instance, was continually rejuvenated.

Dr. Murray has studied a number of genealogies of private persons as well as of Pharaohs. These bring out very clearly that father-daughter and son-mother marriages were commonplace. The brother-sister marriages of the Ptolemies are well known, and they were only a continuation of the old idea. Such arrangements kept the breed pure, and also kept the property in the family, which latter meant the kingdom in the case of the Pharaohs. The custom prevailed among the Israelites where Absalom married his sister Tamar and their daughter Maachah not only married Rehoboam but her own son Abijam. We might add that farther afield the kings of Siam, for instance, married their own sisters up to the end. In Egypt to-day a modification of the old custom still prevails in the marriage of first cousins. In fact this is said to be the best of all marriages, not only from the point of view of the property but also as producing the finest offspring. *Min ummuh bint 'am abuh?* 'Whose mother is the daughter of his father's (paternal) uncle?' is a complimentary remark to or of a specially fine man.

The property descended in the female line and the cases of Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II securing the

heiresses to the kingdom are very clear. By Dyn. XIX things were changing a little so that quite apart from whom he married the son of the chief heiress was preferred to all the other sons. Hence, Meneptah, the thirteenth son, came to the throne although he had elder brothers still living. The descent of the crown in the female line explains the conduct of Julius Caesar and Antony towards Cleopatra and of Octavian towards Caesarion and Antony's children. Cleopatra was the heiress, not the royal debauchee uncomprehending classical historians thought her. The custom of matrilineal descent obtained not only in the House of David in Palestine but also in that of the Claudian emperors at Rome. Dr. Murray makes these cases very clear by tracing the descent in the female line instead of the paternal as we are accustomed to do. All of this and its implications and complications is extremely difficult for us to envisage, and it has taken great labour to have realized the position, to have collected the evidence, and to have put it in comprehensible form.

There is much else that might be selected for remark, but the following must suffice. Thus, attention is called to the presence of the horned viper so common in royal names at the time that the Pharaohs were beginning to turn to Sun-worship; Khufu, Khafrē, Userkaf, etc., with the suggestion that the hieroglyph does not stand for the pronoun 'his' as is usually supposed but for the viper itself. There is probably religious history to be disentangled there. The Uraeus belonged to Seth and was originally not part of the crowns but another emblem of royalty, and it was the 'viper' or rather the hoodless cobra which belonged to Rē.

A remarkable discovery is that of the existence of the little-known Egyptian god 'Ash as a 'devil' in Europe as late as the sixteenth century A.D., with the story that he came with the Franks from Scythia. There are some archaeological resemblances between Egypt and southern Russia which are curious.

Dr. Murray mentions Coptic things so that it is a pity she does not include another remarkable discovery of hers, which is that much of the action in the legend of the Holy Grail takes place in the Delta; Gīzah, Bablūn, Gebel el-Aḥmar, Gebel Dimishk, Sers el-Lianah and other places being recognizable, and the Grail itself being the Coptic chalice in its painted ark. She worked it out in detail in *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, pp. 1-14, 54-69, but only reproduces two figures from there as pl. 94, figs. 2, 3. A resumé of this article would have been of great interest.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT



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